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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

APRIL 1919

A GREAT MYSTIC

The Philosophy of Plotinus. By W. R. INGE, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's. Gifford Lectures at St. Andrew's, 1917-1918. In Two Vols. (Longmans, 1918.)

The Neo-Platonists. By THOS. WHITTAKER. New edition, 1918. (Cambridge University Press, 1901.)

The Problem of Evil in Plotinus. By B. A. G. FULLER, Harvard University. (Cambridge University Press, 1912.)

Neo-Platonism. By C. BIGG, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 1895.)

RELIGION and philosophy—not to speak of physical science—have too often been at variance. The two may be treated as entirely distinct and fundamentally diverse provinces of human thought, when each becomes the poorer for the acceptance of such an error. Both are actually concerned with the universe as a whole, and the object of both is the attainment of ultimate truth concerning its origin, nature, order, scope, and issues. Their immediate objects, however, are different, their premisses differ, their methods often seriously diverge, so that the results which satisfy the philosopher are insufficient for the theologian and vice versa. Religion and philosophy may be regarded as two varying expressions of man's views of the world in which he finds himself, and if the presuppositions, or postulates, on which they respectively rest be seriously different it is not likely that their conclusions will easily be harmonized. None the less, as Dr. H. M. Gwatkin has said, 'a

perfect philosophy must be a true religion as far as it goes, and a perfect religion must rest on a true philosophy.' If only all religions and all philosophies were perfect !

Sometimes the transition from the one habit of mind to the other may be traced through succeeding generations. The period of Greek thought extending for some centuries from the fifth or sixth century B.C. has been described by Mr. F. M. Cornford in the title of an able and interesting book as a passage *From Religion to Philosophy*. That is, as he understands the process, a transition 'from the unreasoned instincts of mythology and traditional belief' to 'clear definition and explicit statement in philosophy.' But the advent of a new spirit of rational inquiry did not imply a complete breach with the older ways of thought ; 'the outward difference only disguises an inward and substantial affinity between two successive products of the same consciousness.' With a combination of scholarship and moral insight, Mr. Cornford works out his thesis that the modes of thought implicit in religion were made explicit in abstract terms such as Substance, Cause, Matter, and Mind. Without debating the question thus suggestively raised, it may be said that during a period beginning with the second century A.D. a reverse process may be traced, that a transition was effected from philosophy to religion, and that a culminating point on the long curve is found in Plotinus. Whatever may have been his exact significance in the history of philosophy and of religion there can be no question as to his importance. No less an authority than Dr. E. Caird, who is certainly not prejudiced in his favour, says, 'Plotinus is one of the greatest names in the history of philosophy, the classical representative of one of the main lines of human thought ; he is *the mystic par excellence*.' In him the brilliant history of Greek philosophy reaches a watershed—a line where the development of speculative thought finds its limit, and from him another current of thought and feeling takes its rise.

In a sense he is the last of the ancient philosophers and the pioneer of mediaeval religious teachers. This is due to the fact that on a basis of rationalism he superimposed a Mysticism which was the fruitful parent of ideas and mental habitudes which he could not possibly foresee.

The importance of the epoch constituted by the teaching of Plotinus cannot easily be exaggerated. Harnack, on the whole a hostile witness, who represents anti-mystical Ritschlianism as Caird does the later Hegelian absolutism—describes the influence of Neo-Platonism on our ethical culture as ‘immeasurable, above all because it begot the consciousness that the only blessedness which can satisfy the heart must be sought higher than even the sphere of reason. That man shall not live by bread alone, the world had learned before Neo-Platonism, but Neo-Platonism enforced the deeper truth—that man shall not live by knowledge alone’ (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, xix. 374). The great thinker whose genius placed him almost on a level with ‘the masters of those that know,’ as he stood on the summit of the high peak of Reason, pointed to a peak that was higher. If it be true, as Eucken says, that ‘with the last burst of light in Plotinus the creative power of Greece was finally extinguished,’ it is also true, as is pointed out in the context, that ‘in his influence upon the attitude towards life Plotinus is without a peer; here he marks the boundary between two worlds.’

The more remarkable is it that such a teacher has had to wait so long for an adequate exponent in English, or perhaps in any language. The admirable work of Dean Inge, set forth in his recently published Gifford lectures, is the result of nearly twenty years of close, appreciative study, and it fills a gap which students of philosophy and religion, ancient and modern, have long desired to see satisfactorily filled. To say this is not to disparage the work of predecessors in the field, some dealing with Plotinus alone and some with Neo-Platonism generally. But

in the Dean of St. Paul's are found qualities not often combined—the necessary Greek scholarship, acquaintance with the history of philosophy, and especially of mysticism, as well as spiritual insight and sanity of judgement, suffused occasionally with a glow of enthusiasm which is refreshing in a man of Dr. Inge's temperament. He displays throughout a power of lucid exposition which can grapple successfully even with the intricacies and obscurities of the Enneads. Dr. Inge tells us that he writes 'as a disciple and not merely a student and critic' of the philosopher whose system he expounds. He has 'steeped' his mind in this study, and has found his guide 'spiritually inspiring, as well as intellectually satisfying.' The disciple does now and then criticize the master, but the Dean's acute critical powers are here held for the most part in abeyance, and the one or two lines of objection taken in these volumes to the arguments of Plotinus are lightly touched and tentatively put forward. We would not have it otherwise. Sympathy is essential to sound exposition. It is comparatively easy to criticize, but it is supremely difficult to master the teaching of a thinker who wrote crabbed Greek, and who took little pains to present his thoughts in systematic and intelligible fashion. All students of religion are greatly indebted to Dean Inge for the Bampton lectures on Christian Mysticism of twenty years ago, and hardly less for the continuation of his original work to be found in these fascinating volumes on *A Great Mystic*.

I

Plotinus was born in 204 or 205 A.D. at Lycopolis, in Egypt. He would never speak of his birthday, 'seemed to be ashamed of his body,' and would not allow his portrait to be painted. He listened to famous teachers in Alexandria, but from none of them did he gain the guidance he sought, and he used to 'go away full of sorrow, with his head hanging down.' At last he was introduced to the school of Ammonius Saccas, and after the first lecture

he exclaimed, Τοῦτον 'εζήτουν, 'This is the man I was looking for.' He became for eleven years an assiduous disciple of the inspired 'Porter-philosopher,' who used to earn his living by carrying grain-sacks from the ships in the harbour. At the age of forty Plotinus went to Rome, where for ten years he gave instruction in philosophy, but wrote nothing. When he was nearly sixty years of age, Porphyry became his pupil and undertook the editing and publication of his works. This was no easy task, for Plotinus was one of the least methodical of men, wrote a bad hand and never read over again what he had written. The arrangement of the fifty-four books into enneads, *i.e.* sets of nine, was due to Porphyry, for whom—as for Dante centuries afterwards—the number nine had a mystical meaning. The style of the Greek is compared by Dr. Bigg to that of Browning, for its subtlety and obscurity. 'There is no difficult word, but the whole is infinitely hard.' In the case of both writers, we may add, the obscurity is due, not so much to carelessness as to over-eagerness and undue compression of thought, to the frequent use of ellipses and concentration upon substance to the neglect of form. Plotinus was physically delicate, shy and reserved in manner, but beloved and trusted by all who knew him. He was made trustee and guardian to the sons and daughters of many of the noblest families in Rome. He died in Campania in 266 A.D. In his closing hours he said to a friend, 'I was waiting for you, before that which is Divine in me departs to unite itself with the Divine in the universe.'

A full and interesting account is given by Dr. Inge of the precursors of Plotinus and the conditions of thought and life in the third century of our era, in which his lot was cast. On these matters we must not linger, but the forerunners of the philosopher were as brilliant as the period in which he lived was dull and barren. The influence of Plato, his great master, of Aristotle, the Stoics, Philo, and the Neo-Pythagoreans, the fusion of religions character-

istic of the times, the strange amalgam of Oriental cults and decaying national faith—all these and many other elements must be taken into account if we would understand something of the influences which went to form the intellectual atmosphere of the time. Plotinus was well-informed and widely read, but his genius expressed itself in its own way, and neither for inspiration nor for expression was he indebted to any of his contemporaries in the dreary period of which he was the most brilliant philosophical luminary. The period has been styled a 'Sahara of the higher intellect'—a hard name to give to a century in which there was at least one plant which brought forth both flower and fruit. Of the religious philosophy contained in the *Enneads* it is impossible in this article even to give a bare summary, but a few paragraphs may suffice to sketch some of its leading features.

The First Principle, or *primaeval Being*, in the system of Plotinus is the One as opposed to the many, the Infinite as opposed to the finite, and it partly corresponds to the modern Absolute. It may also be called the Good, the word not being used in its narrower ethical sense, but as equivalent to the Perfect, the Source and Goal of all. The One is indeed above goodness, as it is beyond knowing and above existence. In Plotinus' own words, 'To say anything of it is to make it particular.' From this Unknowable there arises by a process which Plotinus does not make clear—neither creation nor emanation—a second hypostasis—*Νοῦς*, Mind or Intelligence, or 'Spirit,' as translated by Dr. Inge. It is the highest sphere of being accessible to the human mind, itself divine and unerring, perceiving not by logic but by intuition and containing in it a world of ideas, *Κόσμος νοητός*, the original of all that exists. Its product is *ψυχή*, Soul—though, perhaps 'Life' would represent the meaning better to the modern reader. Its sphere is between Mind and the phenomenal world of sense. It looks towards *Nous*, from which it receives its light and is

fair and good in proportion as it does so; but in the actual world the soul looks downwards and sinks into the finite; consequently, instead of moving in unity and harmony, life here is characterized by strife and discord. The cause of this is found in the lowest stratum of being—*ὕλη*, matter. Interpreters of Plotinus differ as to the exact place and meaning of 'matter' in the system, and the philosopher himself is not clear and consistent in his account of it. It would appear, however, that he does not consider *ὕλη* as in itself evil, or as the cause of evil in a sharply dualistic sense. But it is the great Indeterminate, which has degenerated into the lowest stratum of existence, through its descent from the primal Light into a state of darkness which is evil. By a subtle distinction only possible in Greek, Matter is represented not as Nothing, *οὐκ ὅν*, but as No Thing, *μὴ ὅν*. By the power of the World-Soul beauty, form, and order are to be given to the indeterminate *ὕλη*, and its redemption has already begun.

Thus far a Descent has been described—a Fall, of which men are uneasily conscious. It can only be retrieved by an Ascent to the Perfect. The soul of man must retrace its steps by the practice of virtue, by ascetic training and discipline, till its eyes are purged and true Contemplation becomes possible. Thus man learns how to turn away from the unreal world of phenomena and in the world of Intelligence to behold the Real and Eternal. The soul climbs by turning towards the *Nous*, whose characteristics are Unity, Eternity, Truth, Freedom, and Goodness. At present its vision is darkened, and this will continue so long as it inhabits the Here (*ἐνταῦθα*) which Plotinus often contrasts with the Yonder (*ἐκεῖ*). The world of mind or spirit represents the utmost attainable by man's present faculties. A higher state still remains, only to be reached in Ecstasy—a condition beyond knowing and being, one of perfect passivity and repose, in which the Soul loses

itself in the Abyss of the One. This transcendent ecstasy is barely attainable even by the elect, and was reached by Plotinus himself only three or four times. Such an exalted condition cannot be described in words, for it is beyond consciousness; if words are heard they are such as it is not lawful, or possible, for man to utter.

The scheme here imperfectly outlined is essentially Greek and is a true product of Greek philosophical genius, with the exception of the last stage, and even for this preparation had been made by some of Plotinus' predecessors. But Mind, Soul, and Matter are dealt with on lines mainly laid down by Plato, while traces of the influence of Aristotle and of the Stoics are perceptible, and the Neo-Pythagoreans are responsible for certain features of the system. That which gives fresh character to the whole is the mystical element, which crowns the rational structure. Even this is to be traced, however, not to Oriental emotionalism, but to Plato, the mystical side of whose philosophy has given him a place in the hearts of religiously-minded Westerns for centuries past. Few modern Platonists have shown this more clearly than Prof. J. A. Stewart in his delightful book on the *Myths*, in which he says that Plato makes his appeal to Transcendental Feeling—a feeling 'which indeed appears in our ordinary object-distinguishing, time-marking consciousness, but does not originate in it.' It is at once 'the solemn sense of Timeless Being—of that which was, and is, and ever shall be, overshadowing us—and the conviction that life is good.' It is an abnormal experience of our conscious life, a genuinely ecstatic state. The *Myths* are intended to guide us into its wonders. In them we assist at a 'Vision in which the wide-awake life of our ordinary experiences and doings is seen as an act in a vast drama of the creation and consummation of all things—a great Ritual at which thinkers may assist and feel that there are mysteries which the scientific understanding cannot fathom.'

Here is revealed the heart of the true mystic, whether he be Greek or Jew, Oriental or Occidental, Pagan or Christian. For him all other relations are swallowed up in the relation of the soul to God—immediate, consummate, all-pervading, and all-comprehensive. But the sacred name 'God' may cover meanings widely divergent or even sharply conflicting. Whether the mystic regards the Supreme Being as a personal Divine Companion and Friend, or as a vast Whole in which all finite entities are unintelligibly embraced, whether as philosophical Absolute, or as the saint's Heavenly Bridegroom, it is the goal of all his desires and aims to succeed in merging all consciousness of himself, the world and all existence in immediate, all-absorbing union with the Being who for him is the Supreme, to whom the name 'God' may be given. The distinction between various types of mystics depends largely upon the characteristics of this Being. The Neo-Platonist, in passing from the realm of Mind or Spirit to the One, pursues the *via negativa*, the path of negation, so that the higher he ascends in thought towards God the less can he express his conception in words, till at last nothing at all can be asserted of One who is not only above knowledge, but above existence. 'We speak indeed of it,' says Plotinus in the 5th Ennead, 'but itself we do not express, nor have we knowledge or thought of it.' One of the best-known phrases of the philosopher, used in describing the ecstasy in which the Seer is indistinguishable from the Vision, is found in vi. 9-11: 'This is the life of gods, and of godlike and happy men, a liberation from all other things in the Here—a flight of the alone to the Alone.'

Many questions arise as to the ethical and spiritual significance of Plotinus' religious philosophy which cannot be discussed in this article. Of the stages in his fivefold hierarchy—(1) The One, (2) Mind or Spirit, (3) Soul, (4) Phenomenal Universe, (5) Matter—the first and the last are unknowable. 'Matter' is described by Mr. Fuller

as implying only 'a conceptual symbol for the fact that the real is not ideal and the ideal is not realized.' But in any case Evil is not explained, even to that limited extent in which 'explanation' of that which ought not to be is possible. For Plotinus there is nothing which 'ought not to be'; the whole is good, and the element of evil present in the whole is necessary. But how the One ever passes into 'otherness' and the manifold; how distance from it, as of light or sound from the point of origin, can ever account for evil as we know it in human life; how matter, defecated to a pure transparency, can be directly or indirectly the cause of moral perversity, does not appear. Dr. E. Caird contends, though Dean Inge holds unjustly—that Plotinus is a Dualist in spite of himself, and that he gives no clear and satisfactory account of the relation between the transcendent Absolute and the finite world as men know it. Dr. Inge complains that the majority of interpreters 'have left untested the popular errors that Platonism is a philosophy of dualism and Neo-Platonism a philosophy of ecstasy, and have neglected the numerous passages which should have taught them that both these statements are untrue.' So far as we can judge, the Dean has been very successful in clearing away many misconceptions of Plotinus' teaching which have arisen, not unnaturally, from some passages in his writings. He has done the best that was possible for his author in translating him into modern language, perhaps sometimes straining a point to bring his teaching more into harmony with the religious idealism of to-day. But he cannot explain away certain fundamental difficulties implied in the conception of the universe as outlined by Plotinus, because in all probability the philosopher had never attempted to answer questions which the modern thinker considers to be essential to a rational understanding of the whole.

II

Certain similarities between Neo-Platonism and Christianity sometimes dwelt on as important, are apparent only, or at best superficial. Two such coincidences have been found in the use of the term *Logos* and in the doctrine of the Trinity. But *Logos*, hovering in its meaning between reason and speech, was freely used by ancient writers in various senses. As used by the Stoics it meant cause, passing into energy, that which makes a thing to be what it is. In Plotinus there are many *Logoi*, secondary causes, intermediate between the One and the Manifold, forces proceeding from and in the likeness of the Divine, not personal but not unintelligent, like law in modern physical science, if it be considered as possessing energy, as well as a principle of sequence and order. The connotation given to the Eternal *Logos* of John i. 1-18, afterwards identified with the Incarnate Son, is as different from the use of the term in Philo, as that is from the Neo-Platonic employment of it.

The Triads of Plotinus possess little in common with the Christian Trinity beyond the use of the number three. But a similar use of the sacred number is found in Pythagoras and Aristotle; indeed, Dr. Inge says that 'Triadic schematism was becoming almost obligatory for a Greek philosopher.' Plotinus speaks of a Divine triad—The One, Mind, and Soul,—and he finds in man a corresponding tripartite division—into Spirit, Soul, and Body. The same threefold distinction is traced objectively in the world and in the organs which perceive the external world. But it is easy to exaggerate the significance of these recurring triads. They are not sharp, rigid, permanent lines of distinction, but indications of spiritual aspects and relations which melt into each other. As Dean Inge says, 'In the philosophy of Plotinus there are no hard boundary-lines drawn across the field of experience. His map of the world is covered with contour-lines which, as in the designs of modern surveyors, are to be understood to indicate not precipices, but

gradual slopes.' This is not to underestimate the value of distinctions which in Neo-Platonism are very important, but they should be studied in their context and then the superficial analogy between the three Divine Principles, the One, Mind, and Soul on the one hand, and the 'Persons' of the Christian Trinity on the other, is seen to be very slender. Dr. Inge says that Plotinus 'might perhaps have accepted our suggestion that the God of practical religion is the Universal Soul, the God of devout and thankful contemplation is the Great Spirit, the God of our most inspired moments the Absolute. And these three are one.' The remark is as interesting and suggestive as it is fatal to the analogy suggested by the 'Three Persons and One Substance' of the Athanasian creed.

On the subject of Immortality again, Plotinian and Christian doctrine have much less in common than might at first sight appear. All Greek teaching on this matter needs examination in the light of its context, since very various doctrines are covered by the familiar phrase, Immortality of the Soul. For example, does it, or does it not, include the idea of Reincarnation *παλιγγενεσία* or Transmigration? Plotinus shows some inconsistency here, and Dr. Inge thinks that he does not take the matter very seriously. His main teaching is that 'souls are indestructible and immortal because they possess *ὄυσια*,' Real Being; there is a qualitative difference between creatures which do and those which do not possess it. Plotinus, we are told, is not anxious about 'the empirical self,' in other words, 'individual immortality.' Our immortal part pre-existed and will survive, but with no link of memory; the individual is to be lost in the whole as Time in Eternity. Dr. Inge apparently agrees with Plotinus, and is content to know that the beatified Soul of the World continues to exist, producing its like in time, generation after generation. He adds, with fine philosophical superiority, 'In what sense these successive products of its activity are con-

tinuous or identical with each other, is a question which we must leave to those whom it interests. To us their only unity is in the source from which they flow and in the end to which they aspire.' According to Plotinus, both are unknowable. For our part, therefore, we must leave the question of such abstract impersonal 'immortality' alone.

The direct and indirect influence of Neo-Platonism on Christian theology is full of interest, but it cannot be discussed here. The mention of a few names only—Synesius, Augustine, the Cappadocian Fathers, Pseudo-Dionysius, Erigena, the Victorines, Aquinas, Dante, Eckhart, Ficino, the 'Cambridge school'—*i.e.* Cudworth, H. More, and John Smith—leading us on through Spenser and other poets to Wordsworth in our own times—is enough to illustrate the varied ways in which Platonism in its earlier or later form has left its mark on literature. It was not, however, the metaphysical system as a whole that was accepted by the witnesses referred to, but rather that Platonism has been found in successive generations to be helpful in the maintenance of spiritual views of the world, of the 'values' which are all-important for religion and for that tone and temper of life which passes readily from the seen to the unseen, from the temporal to the Eternal. Here and there detailed doctrines may have been interwoven with the systems of Christian teachers, and reminiscences of the very words of Plato or Plotinus are not uncommon. Augustine describes Platonism as an elder sister of Christianity, but less fully instructed. Passages in his *Confessions* (Bk. vii.) recall the phraseology of the *Enneads*, especially his description of spiritual illumination, while the famous passage in ix. 10, describing the high mystical converse which Monica held with her son a few days before her death, shows how deeply Augustine's Neo-Platonic studies had shaped his thoughts concerning the knowledge and vision of God. Mr. Whittaker traces very interestingly the indirect influence of Neo-Platonic thought through

Dionysius and the Fathers to Aquinas, whence it reached and deeply influenced Dante, especially in the *Paradiso*. Some poets in their highest moods, like Spenser in his four hymns, and Wordsworth in his great 'Ode,' and in many passages of the 'Prelude,' breathe the very spirit of religion, and their forms of expression owe something to the mystical language of Plotinus and his master, Plato.

Dr. Inge, however, finds a much closer correspondence between Neo-Platonic philosophy and the Christian religion than literature, as such, can furnish. 'A natural affinity' between the two on some sides and aspects is indeed discernible, though the language of these lectures is surely too strong. For example, we read that 2 Cor. iii. 18 is 'pure Neo-Platonism,' that Greek Christianity 'remained predominantly Neo-Platonic,' and again that 'Platonism is part of the vital structure of Christian theology.' Dr. Inge quotes with approval a dictum of Troeltsch: 'In my opinion the blend of Neo-Platonism and New Testament Christianity is the only possible solution of the problem at the present day, and I do not doubt that this synthesis of Neo-Platonism and Christianity will once more be dominant in modern thought.' Affinity of spirit in some directions is one thing, and the acceptance of a philosophical system as part of the main structure of a religion is quite another. Dr. Inge says in the introduction to his lectures that if moderns would but read Plotinus, 'they might realize the utter impossibility of excising Platonism from Christianity without tearing Christianity to pieces,' and at the end of his second volume, 'We cannot preserve Platonism without Christianity, nor Christianity without Platonism, nor civilization without both.' The Dean of St. Paul's loves epigrams and is a master of phrase-making. One must therefore not inquire too closely what elements in Platonism which Christianity does not independently possess are necessary to the preservation of the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ. A spiritual and unworldly view of life is

common to both, but it cannot be annexed as private property either by Plato or by writers in the New Testament.

On the other hand, Dr. Inge allows that the doctrine of the Incarnation is essential to Christianity, quoting the passage from Augustine (*Conf.* vii. 10) in which he says that he found in 'the books of the Platonists' that the Logos of God is the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, 'but that the Logos was made flesh and dwelt among us, this I found not there.' Dr. Inge acknowledges that a Neo-Platonist could not have tolerated the doctrine of a suffering and dying God, that he 'would have shrunk from it in horror, or dismissed it with contempt.' He cannot deny that love to God and love to man, as generally understood, have no place in the ideal life according to Plotinus. God is not a person, and the 'intellectual love' which longs for perfection as a state but expects no response or love from an impersonal God in return, has little in common with the loyal devotion which beats at the very heart of religion in the New Testament. Nor does the Greek philosopher understand loving his brother whom he hath seen, though he may claim to love God whom he has not seen. Knowledge is for him the highest good. Virtue is knowledge, as Socrates insisted, and man is to master the world by understanding it. Both the ascent and descent of the soul described in the *Enneads* are intellectual rather than ethical, though moral elements are not entirely forgotten. Where Christianity appeals to conscience, heart, and will, the Greek teacher appeals to the Intelligence, which for him is the highest principle in the universe; and if it is the fact, as the Dean says, that 'the Christian Platonists of Alexandria, the Cappadocian Fathers, and Greek Theology generally, regarded the heavenly Christ as a Being with most of the attributes of the Neo-Platonic *Noûs*,' it only shows how far removed is the Christ of Greek Theology from the Saviour of the New Testament and the spiritual and moral power of the Christianity which overcame the world.

Whether Plotinism could ever be Christianized is hardly doubtful. Christianity could not be Plotinized without ceasing to be Christianity. That is, if by the word we mean the Christianity which in all generations has shown itself the 'power of God unto salvation,' the one religion of Redemption which has exhibited a superhuman power to change the heart and character and life of the degraded and the evil—in New Testament phrase, to 'save that which is lost.' Dean Inge takes a gloomy view of society in this country during the Victorian period and the opening years of the twentieth century. Still more darkly does he regard the war, which 'at a week's notice turned Europe into a co-operative suicide club.' He turns for relief to a Christian philosophy which, like Neo-Platonism, shall be free of all religious difficulties, 'dependent on no miracles, on no unique revelation through any historical person,' one which no scientific or historical discovery can refute, which 'requires no apologetic except the testimony of spiritual experience.' He has found Plotinus to be, like Wordsworth, 'an author whom a man may take up in trouble and perplexity, with the certainty of finding strength and consolation.'

This may appear an attractive picture to philosophers, to the select few who meditate apart on a hill retired. But Christianity has its roots in history, its fruit also, though the ripest and richest fruit is yet to come. The Christian religion is based on an historical revelation, a great manifestation of God in Christ, a great work of redemption wrought out for a ruined race. It stands or falls with the doctrine that God is Love. It is not a speculation, but an evangel. Its centre is the Cross of Christ, which Greeks accounted, and still account, foolishness—a doctrine of suffering, shame and death crowned by the victory of a Resurrection, the proclamation of which met with little favour when it was set forth in the Areopagus. The further Hellenizing of the Christian religion is hardly likely to make it more effective for the removal from the

human heart of the deep root-causes of war, or for the consolation of those who have lost beloved ones through the barbarous and senseless cruelty which attends it. That Christianity gained in some ways by the admission in the early centuries of some Hellenic elements of thought into its theology, is clear. But it is also clear that the slow and silent revolution which changed the religion of the New Testament into the Eristic of the fourth and fifth centuries was far from being pure gain. Philosophy may tell us, like the fine gentleman who angered Hotspur, that 'the sovereign'st thing on earth is parmaceti for an inward bruise,' but it cannot effectually cure the wounds and bruises even of the comparatively few who can follow its message, while for the multitude its exhortations are vanity and striving after wind. It was so when Jesus taught in Galilee and when Paul preached the Gospel to the Gentiles; and however mankind may 'progress,' the needs of the human heart and conscience remain the same. Man's infirm and vacillating will still needs such strengthening and renewal as Augustine has described in immortal words and after a fashion which knowledge by itself can never provide.

The philosopher can teach us much. We need not, with Hatch in his Hibbert lectures, find in the metaphysical theology of the fourth century a *damnosa hereditas*. But the limits of dialectic must be recognized, as well as its sifting and enlightening power. The mystic can teach us much. For while 'dogma may be the skeleton, Mysticism is the life-blood of the Christian body.' But the pre-suppositions of a truly Christian Mysticism separate it by a whole diameter from other forms of Mysticism, too often confused with it. Every student of religious philosophy is indebted to the Dean for his masterly exposition of the philosophy of Plotinus. But amongst those who have most enjoyed his analysis of the 'wisdom' dear to the Greeks and valuable to the world, many will find themselves more deeply impressed than ever by a sense of its essential and permanent limitations.

THE NEW CHALLENGE TO BRITISH CHRISTENDOM

WHEN Deborah the prophetess boldly broke out with her rousing challenge to her timid and hesitating colleague, Barak, she little thought that her animating words would be recorded by the pen of inspiration, and be ready for use three thousand years later—if any one cared to use them—in embodying an equally rousing challenge. Not to a Semitic tribe rising against another Semitic tribe and fighting for its freedom from a Sisera and his chariots of iron ; but to an Empire upon which the sun never sets, and particularly to the nucleus and centre of that Empire in a group of islands away in the Western Ocean. A challenge, moreover, not for the deliverance of that Empire, or any part of it, from a tyrant with iron chariots, but for the service of its citizens in delivering other peoples from a worse bondage by the proclamation of a Divine Message to all mankind.

What were those memorable words from the mouth of a woman dwelling under a palm-tree in that little old land of Palestine ? Let us read them : *'Up ! for this is the day in which the Lord hath delivered Sisera into thine hand ; is not the Lord gone out before thee ?'* As one writes them down in this year of grace, 1919, the thought occurs to the mind, 'Well, but they have had an extraordinarily literal fulfilment to-day !' Yes, that very scene of Barak's sudden attack upon the Canaanite host, the historic Vale of Esdraelon, has witnessed the deliverance of the Holy Land from a worse tyranny than Sisera's, lasting six hundred years. Did not General Allenby watch his opportunity, and then cry, in effect, 'Up ! for this is the day' ?—and can we not see how the Lord had gone out before him, and already in His divine purpose delivered the Turkish Sisera into his

hand? And the words of the prophetess have had a still greater fulfilment than that. A more powerful Sisera sought to bring all Europe into bondage, and thus to dominate the world; and this Sisera, too, valiantly resisted for four long years, was overwhelmed at last when the great Marshal's battle-cry went forth, 'Up! for this is the day!'

And now that same battle-cry, in effect, needs to be sounded forth, not in a war but in a peace campaign. For there are still powerful foes to be overcome in the world of peace, enemies in the home life of the nation, enemies that cannot be fought with material weapons and munitions. What of the selfish greed of gain? What of the cool assertion of a man's own rights and disregard of the rights of others? What of the profiteering and sweating? What of the miserable housing of the poor? What of the reckless love of pleasure and senseless throwing away of the money made by people of all classes out of the war—money sorely missed by the quiet folk whose only share has been the paying of it in swollen prices and heavy taxation? What of the tyranny of the liquor traffic? What of the gambling spirit? What of the darker indulgences and the ravages of consequent disease? There are Siseras in our midst with weapons more deadly than iron chariots, more deadly even than U-boats and mines. Is it not time to say, 'Up! for this is the day!'? If we do, shall we not find that the Lord has indeed gone out before us, and is pointing the way by which we are to go? And can He not deliver even these Siseras into our hand?

Deborah's challenge, therefore, which we ourselves have heard so effectively sounded in modern Palestine and modern France, and which led to such brilliant victories, ought now to be sounded forth more insistently than ever against these enemies of the true peace and prosperity of the world. But the purpose of the present article is to sound it forth for a more extended and more arduous campaign still; to show that '*this is the day*' for such an assault

by the Church of the Living God upon the dominion of the great Enemy of mankind over the non-Christian peoples of the world, as has never yet been attempted. It is the whole Church that is responsible for delivering the Divine Message of love to the whole world. But let us concentrate our attention upon the special responsibilities of British Christendom due to, or coincident with, the Great War.

I.—First of all, we are deeply indebted to the non-Christian peoples for their share with us in the defeat of our foes. The splendid warriors sent to our aid in tens of thousands from India took their part, not only in the open fighting which they glory in, but in the terrible sufferings of trench life in France and Flanders in the depth of winter, and in a climate totally different from their own. Still more prominent were they in the privations and disasters of Mesopotamia. They formed a large part of the surrendered garrison of Kut, and hundreds of them died in Turkish captivity. They had a brilliant share in the victorious campaign in Palestine. They served in the long-drawn-out pursuit of the German force in East Africa. And it was not only the regular Indian soldiers, born and bred as fighting men, who thus helped us. Several ordained Indian ministers and Christian students from India served with these troops under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. Take one illustration from a mission college in Ceylon. Sixty-two of its students, because no local contingent was raised there, came at their own charges and risk to England, and obtained leave to enlist in English regiments. Several of these proved so efficient that they became N.C.O.'s; half a dozen were awarded commissions; four at least received decorations; twelve lost their lives. Some were Buddhists, some Hindus; but every one of the twelve who fell in our service was a Christian convert. Such is the record of Trinity College, Kandy.

In Africa there was a great deal of fighting of which no account appeared in the newspapers. To say nothing

of the German territory in the south-west, where the troops of the Union of South Africa subjugated the whole country, the campaigns in the Cameroons and in German East Africa proved long and difficult; and in all these the African subjects of King George took an effective part. These, however, did get some little occasional notice. But the war on the great lake, the Victoria Nyanza, and in the country west of it, on the frontier line between the German possessions and Uganda, is not even mentioned casually in the *Times* History of the War. The Germans had trained and armed a large force of Africans in their territory, and against these were fitted a small body of 'Uganda rifles' and others under British officers; and with these, some thousands of Uganda men and boys served as porters, &c., the great majority being Christians. The mission hospitals, with hundreds of beds added in the emergency, were soon full of wounded; but victory was not long delayed. Some official account of this ought to be published; and meanwhile due recognition of loyal service has not been withheld, for four Christian African kings within the Protectorate have been appointed honorary members of the Order of the British Empire, and one of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, while the Prime Minister of Uganda, Sir Apolo Kagwa, who was deservedly knighted a few years ago, was also admitted to the former Order. It should be added that South Africa provided large Labour Corps for the front in France.

Of Japan, as one of the Allied Great Powers, it is needless to say anything. Her fleets did splendid service in the Pacific Ocean and elsewhere, of which very little is known to the public. The present writer, visiting a captured German U-boat in Poole harbour, found a Japanese crew on board, they having caught her in the Channel.

China, though she joined the Allies, was not able to contribute military or naval forces; but large numbers of Chinese were supplied in Labour Corps. Two thousand of

them came in one ship, under the care of a Cambridge missionary.

And the Far East of Asia was not alone. The Far West of that greatest of continents also took its part. The King of the Hedjaz, the chief Moslem potentate in Arabia, drove the Turks from their possessions there, and rendered important help in the Palestine campaign.

This is the barest sketch of a few items of the debt we owe to the non-Christian peoples of the world in respect of personal service; for it must be noticed that the Christians mentioned were but a very small minority. And we ought not to forget the voluntary gifts of money. From the West African Colonies, for instance, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Nigeria, came very large sums (apparently over £100,000), several chiefs contributing £1,000 each. East Africa is not so rich, but the Mohammedans of Zanzibar contributed £2,000, and many other self-denying gifts were received. Even the quite uncivilized Kavirondo tribe on the banks of the Victoria Nyanza, whose people are, or were, literally naked, 'did their bit' by supplying the East African force freely with 3,000 goats.

'If we sowed unto you spiritual things,' wrote St. Paul to the Christians at Corinth, 'is it a great matter if we shall reap your carnal things?' But is not the converse argument as cogent? If we have reaped their carnal things, ought we not to sow to them spiritual things? Yet what is the fact? The order goes forth from authority, 'No proselytizing.' That, in sober seriousness, is an order to break the eighth commandment—at least, so a clever Chinese Christian interpreted it; for God has entrusted to us a tremendous blessing for these non-Christian peoples, and we are forbidden to pass it on to those among them who happen to have come nearest to us. Many of us saw those magnificent men from the martial races of North India, Hindus, Sikhs, and Moslems, wounded, crippled, worn out with sufferings in the trenches in that first winter of the

war. We were encouraged to show them kindness, provided that we refrained from telling them God's message of love, which was as much for them as for us. Their mortal bodies we might care for; not their immortal spirits. 'Their religion is good enough for them!' Did we treat their mangled limbs that way? Did we declare that their own native surgery was 'good enough for them'? Did not our finest physicians and operators devote to them exactly the same skill and patience that were at the service of our own men? Surely the responsibility that has always lain at the door of Christ's Church is tenfold heavier since the war.

II.—A very heavy responsibility lies upon us on another ground altogether. The German Churches had extensive missions of their own to the non-Christian peoples, and most of these Missions have undergone what in a sense is almost irreparable loss through our action. In West and East Africa especially we have overrun the German colonies and driven out the German rulers and traders and missionaries alike. We have supplied the places of the rulers temporarily, and probably the Peace Conference will expect us to continue this service for some of the colonies at least. For although we entered on the war without a thought of territorial gains, it is impossible to restore such a régime as the German, and some part of the extensive countries delivered from it must inevitably fall to us. So we shall provide rulers, while the places of traders need no official provision, for the hope of gain will be adequate motive for individual action to supply that. But the missionaries? The Basel Mission, the North German Society, the Rhenish Society on the western side, and the Berlin and other missions on the eastern side, had some hundreds of missionaries at work. Will the German churches and societies be allowed to send them back, or to supply others? That is very unlikely. Are the Christian communities already gathered, numbering many thousands of souls, to be left unshepherded? Are the populations that were gradually being evangelized to

be neglected? Some little help is being given by British Missions adjoining; but these have become more undermanned than they were owing to the war.

A not very different problem faces us in India. It is there not a case of German territory having been subjugated. The government and the trade were British already. But the German Missions were large and successful. The Gossner Mission in Chota Nagpur, the Basel Mission in the Canarese districts, the Leipzig Mission among the Tamils, and other smaller bodies, employed between them several hundred missionaries. Most of these were repatriated or interned early in the war. They left behind them, as in Africa, large Christian congregations. The British and American Missions have done much admirable work in caring for these 'sheep without a shepherd.' In Chota Nagpur, with its 50 German missionaries, 500 Indian workers, 300 schools, and over 100,000 Christians, the Anglican 'S.P.G.' was the nearest British Mission, and the Bishops took general charge, leaving the congregations under their native pastors, and undertaking that 'no attempt should be made to win them over to the Anglican Church.' But the permanent problem still awaits solution.

Akin to this Indian question is that in British South Africa, where the Berlin and Herrmansburg Missions are on a large scale. Other German Missions are in China, Malaysia, New Guinea; and all of them call for the sympathy and help of the Church of Christ in some form.

This responsibility touching German Missions is enhanced when we remember how greatly our early British Missions in Africa and India and the Near East were indebted to Germany for some of their best missionaries. The first Protestant missionaries in India, in the eighteenth century, were Germans, though sent forth and supported from Denmark in the first instance, and afterwards from England through the agency of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. C. F. Schwartz, one of their leaders, is an

historical personage in the annals of India. In the nineteenth century, several of the noblest C.M.S. missionaries in that field were Germans: Pfander, Weitbrecht, Leupolt, for instance. So it was also in West Africa, notably W. A. B. Johnson, of Sierra Leone, and J. F. Schön, the first to translate the Scriptures into the Hausa language. In East Africa, the very first explorers, before Livingstone, were Krapf and Rebmann, who discovered the mighty mountains Kenia and Kilimanjaro. So again in the Turkish Empire the names of Koelle, Wolters, Zeller, Klein (discoverer of the Moabite Stone), will not be forgotten.

This reminds us of England's special responsibility for the future of large portions of the Turkish dominions. Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, have been delivered from the oppressions of centuries by British arms. Their political destiny will be settled by the Peace Conference. But one thing is certain; we are deeply concerned in the question of future religious liberty, and bound to secure that liberty at all costs. Moslem and Christian and Jew must not only have equal civil rights, but must be free to change their religions respectively. Neither a Moslem nor a Jewish administration must inflict disabilities on Christians; nor must there be any interference with a Moslem or a Jew desirous of embracing Christianity,—and of course equally the other way. It is important that British public opinion should be clear on this point, if only because British rulers in both the Eastern and the Western Sudan are often disposed to yield too much to Mohammedan prejudice and to restrict the reasonable freedom of Christian missionaries. They are slow to learn that Moslems especially respect Christian rulers who are not ashamed of their religion. The same considerations apply to Persia, where British influence will certainly increase in the absence of the strong Russian influence hitherto exercised.

III.—As we turn from the past and look forward into the future, we become more and more deeply convinced that

'Not only a new Europe, but a new Asia, and in many respects a new Africa, will emerge from the War.' New, certainly, but in what sense? Will there be new life? Will there be new faith, new hope, new love?

A survey of the world, however superficial, gives point to these questions. The war will prove to have been a principal factor in the tremendous revolutions that are imminent; yet even apart from the war the outlook is startling enough. The Dark Continent is dark no longer in the sense meant by the phrase. Every corner of it has now been mapped out. But dark it still is spiritually, although bright centres of Christian life and influence are scattered over it in numbers which Livingstone and Gordon would have rejoiced to see, 'but died without the sight.' It is simply literal fact that in many parts Pagan Africa is holding forth its hands and crying, 'Come over and help us.' In Nigeria, by far the most populous of the British possessions in Africa, the mass movement towards Christianity is insistent. Although the shortage of men to take advantage of such an opportunity is grievous, there is a hopeful outlook in other respects. The hateful liquor traffic, for instance, is likely to be restricted, if not suppressed; and the brotherly co-operation of the different Missions is increasing (as illustrated, *e.g.*, by the Anglicans and the Wesleyans uniting to carry on the old C.M.S. College at Sierra Leone). In many other parts of Africa, up the great rivers and round the great lakes, there are similar appeals for Christian teachers, and the growing spirit of co-operation has been exemplified by the hearty adoption of conditions of alliance by the Missions lately assembled for the second time at Kikuyu.

India is naturally excited about its future political position within the Empire. Notwithstanding the wild utterances of the extremists, there is solid satisfaction at the definite representation for the first time of India in the Imperial Conference and in the Peace Conference, and

even in the British Government itself and in the Peerage ; and moderate opinion looks with confident hope to the increasing share presently to be taken by Indians in the administration of their country. Meanwhile, the mass movements towards Christianity are extending among the 'depressed' or out-caste classes ; and while thousands are being baptized, hundreds of thousands more are ready to come forward if only teachers can be provided for them. This great uprising, so far from alienating the caste people and higher social grades from Christian influence, is rather inclining them to favour what seems to be so effective in improving the condition of those hitherto so despised. Lately among the Telugu-speaking people of South India, where the mass movement has been remarkable, over 3,000 Christian men and women, gathered from the out-caste communities, engaged in a week's special evangelistic effort, preaching in 260 villages to a population of nearly 40,000 heathen. Existing congregations gained additions ; new ones were formed in ten villages ; and nearly 600 inquirers were enrolled. This is only one of many illustrations of the best method of evangelization—new converts seeking the conversion of others. In the Churches, Indian leadership is being successfully encouraged, and Indian methods of work and worship tend to emphasize the great principle that evangelization does not mean 'westernization.' Co-operation between the Missions is growing, as is illustrated by the notable work and influence of the National Missionary Council formed after Dr. Mott's campaign of 1912-13.

In the Far East, both Japan and China present causes of anxious questioning. In Japan, Buddhism and Shintoism have both revived their energies, stirred up by the increasing national self-confidence and reluctance to be beholden to Western ideas. Industrial problems are urgent in a country where democracy is not yet fashionable, and where the labouring population have scanty power in the State ; and if the Japanese are less willing than they were

to be guided by the West, the workmen are ready to imitate their European brethren in the matter of strikes. On the other hand, if Japan is proud of its great position as one of the five principal Allies, she is also conscious of the social and commercial evils that are so prevalent, and anxious to find some remedy for them. Meanwhile, the Christian assault upon 'all that is not holy, all that is not true' is being vigorously prosecuted, both by direct evangelization and by the development of Christian education and literature. China has continued in great political confusion, and the issue is still doubtful. Brigandage, accompanied by outrage, is rife in many provinces; but the position of the Missions has greatly improved as compared with that of twenty years ago. So far from the mission-houses being most liable to attack, the civil rulers have again and again resorted to them for safety. As in Japan, education and literature and social service are being developed by the missionary bodies; and the co-operative movement distinctly grows in strength. Many institutions are worked jointly by missions differing in Church connexion, and there is an increasing fellowship manifested in this and other ways.

What shall we say further of the great Mohammedan regions, North Africa and West and Central Asia? Of Malaysia and New Guinea and the Pacific? Of Central and South America? Just this, that there is a vast task indeed of evangelization still before us.

Evangelization—what do we mean by this term? It is sometimes used as if it were synonymous with conversion; but there is a distinct and important difference. If conversion means the turning of men from sin to righteousness, that is a divine work. But evangelization is man's work. It is the proclamation of the evangel, of the divine message of love to mankind. This we can do, and for this we are responsible. Men may refuse to listen; or they may listen, and refuse to believe; or they may listen and believe, but refuse to accept and obey. In either

case they are responsible, not we. But to give them the chance of hearing and believing and obeying, we are responsible. That is the work to which we are called. And if it is faithfully performed, we may rely on the divine promise that it shall not be in vain. The result will be twofold. In the case of individuals, it will be conversion, in the fullest sense. In the case of nations and peoples it will be, in due time, the national adoption of Christianity. Although the bulk of the nation may be innocent of anything like true conversion of heart and life, this is conversion in a broader sense. And it is not to be despised. 'Christian' nations have done very unchristian things, but upon the whole they have a higher standard of right and wrong than non-Christian nations, although non-Christian nations have sometimes acted upon what were in fact Christian principles. A Christian India or China or Japan would have much to teach us.

For a vast and growing work like this, where are the men to come from? Surely our demobilized army should furnish a good contingent. Not in vain have the non-Christian troops fought by their side. Not in vain have the non-Christian Labour Corps supplied their wants. Many will be ready to respond to the call, and to 'minister spiritual things' to these comrades and helpers. Others of our men, Territorials in India, for instance, have seen something of missionary work and its fruits, and have been deeply impressed. If our Baraks, stirred up by Deborah's challenge, appeal to 'the children of Naphtali and the children of Zebulun,' they will not appeal in vain. And Deborah's sisters are ready, too. The women who have worked so nobly in the war will be keen to engage in the Holy War. The real question is, Are we ready to enrol and support them? Suppose it cost us seven millions a year: that would be the one three hundred and sixty-fifth part of the seven millions *a day* we have cheerfully paid to maintain the war. Up! then, for this is the day!—EUGENE STOCK.

THE ETERNAL QUESTION: IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN SCIENCE

The Question: 'If a Man Die shall He Live again?'—A brief History and Examination of Modern Spiritualism. By EDWARD CLODD, with a postscript by Prof. H. E. ARMSTRONG, F.R.S. (Grant Richards.)

Sir Oliver Lodge and the Scientific World. By CHAS. MERCIER, M.D. *Hibbert Journal.* July, 1917.

Spiritualism and Sir Oliver Lodge. CHAS. MERCIER, M.D.

The Assurance of Immortality. By H. E. FOSDICK. (Student Christian Movement.)

Is Death the End? By J. HAYNES HOLMES. (G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

Faith and Immortality. By DR. GRIFFITH JONES. (Duckworth.)

Brain and Personality. By DR. W. H. THOMSON, M.D., LL.D. (Hodder & Stoughton.)

OF the works above named, that by Mr. Clodd is the latest, but there is a new edition of Dr. Fosdick's little summary, and these, together with the volumes by Mr. Holmes and Dr. Griffith Jones, constitute, perhaps, the most noteworthy utterances amongst the host of other issues,¹ relating to the eternal question—'If a man die shall

¹ At the close of his book, Mr. Holmes gives a careful list of a hundred books on the general question of human immortality. The following may be said to represent the modern situation fairly on both sides:

Against the Christian belief, besides Mr. Clodd's volume, reference must be made to Prof. Haeckel's two issues, made popular by the R.P.A., *The Riddle of the Universe* and *The Wonders of Life*. Also Dr. Ivor Tuckett's *Evidence for the Supernatural*; Dr. Mercier's *Spiritualism and Sir Oliver Lodge*; Sir H. B. Donkin's *Letters to The Westminster Gazette* and other papers; Mr. Jos. McCabe's *Haeckel's Critics Answered* and *The Religion of Sir Oliver Lodge*; Mr. E. S. P. Hayne's *Personal Immortality*. On the Christian side may be mentioned, out of a host, *The New Revelation*, by Sir Conan Doyle; *Immortality and the Future*, Dr. H. R. Mackintosh; *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, by Dr. S. D. F. Salmond; *The Doctrine of Immortality*, John Day Thompson; *Immortality, an Essay in Discovery, Co-ordinating Scientific, Psychological, and Biblical Research*, Canon Streeter and others; *New Light on Immortality*, E. E. Fournier d'Albe; *Life Beyond*

he live again?' and the careful perusal of these will give any fair-minded student opportunity to know the pros and cons. of one of the greatest questions that can occur to human minds. Whatever opinions any man may hold, there can be no doubt as to the increased intensity of interest which now obtains in regard to this whole theme. It is simply impossible that Europe should have gone through these four years of horror amidst war's sickening slaughter, without raising to a pathetic pitch the age-long human wonder as to what happens after death—anything or nothing? And if something—what?

Whether all that is involved amounts to nothing more than the estimate asserted in Mr. Clodd's onslaught upon Sir Oliver Lodge—'the recrudescence of superstition which is so deplorable a feature of these days'—is open to discussion. The fact remains that in this country no less than in America—whence, we are told, all these spurious notions are derived—there are more minds now being exercised, more hearts troubled, as to what death means and brings, than ever before. Even if we shrink from estimating the anguish of bereavement, seven millions of our fellow men cannot be suddenly snatched out of mortal existence without creating a wave of wonder, immeasurable alike in pathos and intensity, as to what has become of them. The works of Drs. Jones and Fosdick, along with that by Mr. Holmes, above specified, face this wave bravely and fairly. It may be truly said that each writer shows himself fully acquainted with the modern scientific as well

Death, Dr. M. J. Savage; *Man is a Spirit*, J. A. Hill; *Raymond, or Life and Death*, and *Survival of Man*, Sir Oliver Lodge; *Our Self after Death*, A. Chambers; *Life Everlasting*, *Man's Destiny*, John Fiske; *Life Beyond Life*, Dr. C. L. Slattery; Four vols. of the Ingersoll Lecture, viz. *Human Immortality*, Prof. Wm. James; *Science and Immortality*, Dr. W. Osler; *The Endless Life*, Dr. S. M. Crothers; *The Conception of Immortality*, Josiah Royce; *The Hope of Immortality*, Dean Welldon; *Individual Immortality*, E. M. Caillard; *A Scientific Demonstration of the Future Life*, Thos. Jay Hudson. Many more might of course be added; these are just a few from my own shelves, concerning which it may be fairly said that they at least merit as much attention as Mr. Clodd's latest volume.

as popular attitude herein. It would be difficult to speak too highly of their representation of the Christian case in these days of storm and stress.

Mr. Clodd's work is avowedly an examination of modern 'Spiritualism.' But he uses the term in a broad sense, not only including such alleged intercourse with the departed as should rightly be called 'Spiritism,' but all other phenomena generally known as 'occult'—such as clairvoyance, crystal gazing, dowsing, telepathy, &c. His attitude towards all these alike is contemptuous rather than virulent. This latter quality is supplied in the postscript contributed—'in direct support of his thesis'—by Prof. Armstrong. He not only endorses the amiable epithet 'nauseating drivel,' applied to Sir Oliver Lodge's work by Mr. Clodd, but manages in short space to make many assertions which savour much more of prejudice and 'cocksureness'—to quote Mr. Clodd's own term—than of truth. Thus from the fact that Sir Oliver Lodge's book, *Raymond*, was not at once universally denounced, he draws the modest inference that 'we are living in an age of intellectual decadence, and that even the inklings of scientific method are not yet spread abroad.' 'Spiritualistic faith'—used in the widest sense—'shows that the rules of evidence are disregarded, and logic entirely discarded, so that modern education counts for very little.' He proceeds to praise Faraday as 'an experimental philosopher,' entirely reliable as a witness against Sir Oliver Lodge. But when Faraday 'clearly recognizes the limitations of human intellect,' and dares to hold some real Christian convictions, he is pronounced a 'pure child of nature, a child of faith,' and the inference is drawn that 'most of us are at once both Jekylls and Hydes.' Readers of R. L. Stevenson's immortal story will appreciate both the benignity of the reference to Faraday as a 'Hyde,' and the modesty of the claim that all whom Prof. Armstrong represents are—'Jekylls.'

In spite of Mr. Clodd's ridicule, one must affirm that

all unbiassed students who have done justice to the Proceedings of the S.P.R., together with the two volumes on *Phantasms of the Living*, by Messrs. Gurney and Podmore, will agree with Sir F. W. Barrett that 'either telepathy is demonstrated as a fact, or there is an end to the worth of all testimony.' But Prof. Armstrong opines that 'the most telling indictment of telepathy and spiritualism' is to be found in Prof. Henry Sidgwick's disinterested judgement, which prevented his accepting such conclusions as those of Sir Oliver Lodge and others. He conveniently omits to mention Prof. Sidgwick's definite acceptance of telepathy—which we will presently supply in his own words—and contents himself with the bald affirmation that such men as Sir William Barrett, Sir William Crookes, and Sir Oliver Lodge 'have not conducted their inquiries in accordance with the canons of scientific method.' The modesty of the suggestion would be comic but for its seriousness. In sober truth, however, it does really come to this, that all investigation which ventures to arrive at conclusions differing from those of Prof. Armstrong and his friends—'is but a spurious article—only playing at science.' One cannot but wonder at such an attitude—until the veil is dropped in the last clause—'Science, in fact, is under a cloud of ecclesiasticism.' Most of these men whose 'interpretation' of facts which cannot be denied differs from that of Mr. Clodd and his friends, are in some sense or degree religious men. They dare to think that there is something in Christianity after all. That is enough. In that case, if they may not be indicted for hypocrisy, at least it may be assumed that they are fools. Their perception is blunted; their intelligence childish; their mental faculties are enfeebled: they have no real knowledge of science; they pay no regard to logic; they have no sense of truth, no thought of protection against trickery, no sensitiveness to the possibility of fraud. In a word they are all alike but as sheep before their shearers, simple babes easily at the mercy of every charlatan. Let

it be well understood that nothing but lack of space here prevents a direct quotation being given in proof that every one of these is suggested by the volume in hand.

They do not emanate from Mr. Clodd alone, as every reader of Dr. Mercier's articles in the *Hibbert Journal*, or Dr. Tuckett's volume, or Sir H. B. Donkin's letters, will be aware. These writers are indeed but spokesmen for a school of modern thought which makes loud and dogmatic claim to be heard, and exercises much more influence than ordinary Christian teachers say or think. The Christian authors above named are truly alive to the gravity of the situation, but the majority still prefer the policy of the ostrich, which bids fair to be a costly delusion in coming days. In a well-known journal, with a larger circulation than all the best known religious weeklies put together, Mr. Clodd's work is announced as a 'most timely exposure of the weakness and folly which have spread through human society as an aftermath of the great conflict now closing.' The weakness and folly, of course, consists in the hopes which are so widely cherished, as some mitigation of the anguish of bereavement, that all is not over for the millions slain, and that there may yet be, beyond the grave, the renewal of that heart-communion which made life's best bliss on earth. Prof. Armstrong adds that 'Mr. Clodd's book appears to me to be a cumulative and forceful gravamen against a movement every aspect of which is pernicious—pernicious alike to the prime movers and the public; one which at all costs, in support of the sanity of human outlook, we should seek to stamp out with every weapon at our command.'

But this 'gravamen' is much more than an attempted exposure of fraud on the part of mediums, or folly on the part of their sitters. It is by no means content with negations and pseudo-demonstrations of the gullibility of members of the S.P.R. It involves quite definitely the undermining of every ground for Christian belief and the destruction of every reason for Christian hope in the here-

after. It is far from simply supplying the list (on p. 136) of mediums who have been detected in fraud. If that were all its aim, it would be welcome indeed. For when Strauss, amid his last pained words, cried, 'But what is the use of having recourse to an illusion?' he only voiced that which every Christian worthy of the name would emphatically endorse. The avowed aim of the school for whom Mr. Clodd speaks is to show that whatever may be said on behalf of faith, or instinct, or other reasons for hope beyond the grave, there is no help or comfort or hope to such effect in modern science.

It is happily true that even if this dreary verdict had to be accepted, all else that has been rationally and cogently advanced by the Christian writers named would yet remain in full force. But Christian faith does not wish to be divorced from true scientific method or result. Nor is there any need that it should be. For all the browbeating of the Clodd-Armstrong-Tuckett school, it claims to abide, quite as intelligently and truthfully as any of these writers, by the Apostolic maxim upon which all science must rest: 'Whatsoever things are true—take these into full account.'¹ On that ground, the Haeckelian dogmatism which some twenty years ago declared that—

'Modern science has not taught us a single fact that points to the existence of an immaterial world. On the contrary it has shown more and more clearly that the supposed world beyond is a pure fiction, and only merits to be treated as a subject for poetry. Comparative anatomy and physiology have shown that the mind of man is a function of the brain, and his will not free, and that his soul, absolutely bound up with its material organ, passes away at death like the souls of other mammals. All that comes within the range of our knowledge is a part of the material world'²—

is now definitely dismissed as false. And if the dictum of W. K. Clifford, quoted by Mr. Clodd with approval, that 'The universe is made up of matter and motion, and there's no room for ghosts'—is to be taken seriously, then, in the light of modern psychology, we treat it also with

¹ Phil. iv. 8.

² *Wonders of Life*, p. 454.

the same contempt as Mr. Clodd does the conclusions of Sir Oliver Lodge. But in addition we desire here to register a mild but plain protest against the whole attitude of this latest Agnostic utterance.

It is well understood that the word 'immortality' may convey two meanings—survival after death, or continuous existence for ever. We are here concerned only with the former. The latter may be dismissed for the present, because it would involve the full contents of Christian eschatology which we are not now considering, seeing that the school of thought represented by Mr. Clodd pays no regard to it. If, as Haeckel affirmed and Mr. Clodd assumes, the human self, soul, personality, call it what we may, perishes at death as utterly as the light of the electric lamp when the current is turned off, there is nothing more to consider. The only question is whether that does happen or not. Apart wholly from Christian and other reasons for the belief that it does not, a movement has undoubtedly developed in these days as never before, and supported by men of unchallengeable repute in modern science, which seeks for proof in actual fact, of the falsity of Haeckel's 'thanatism' and Clodd's agnosticism. If only some of its alleged findings are true, no one need any more share the oft-quoted horror of Prof. Huxley, as addressed to Lord Morley, at the thought of extinction; nor need any of those who have been so cruelly bereaved during these last four years, think that they have lost their loved ones for evermore. Whether the Churches look favourably upon such a movement or not, Sir Oliver Lodge and his co-workers are certainly not such fools as the Clodd school make them out to be; and when Sir Oliver boldly declares—'I am as convinced of continued existence on the other side of death as I am of existence here,'¹ he represents very many besides

¹ *Raymond*, p. 375. Seeing that the sentence which follows specially excites Mr. Clodd's ire, it may be best in the interests of truth to give the rest of the paragraph. 'It may be said you cannot be as sure as you are of sensory experience. I say I can. A physicist is never limited to direct

himself, who are quite equal in scientific acumen and sincerity to any of their opponents. When, therefore, Mr. Clodd indignantly avers that 'such plainness of speech must be met by equal plainness'—we will take him at his word, and plainly indict his indictment on the ground of its wholesale and unwarranted assumptions.

(1) His assumption in regard to Spiritualism, because of its history, possible explanation, and actual exposures, is that it is wholly false. 'Spiritualism,' in his hands, as pointed out above, means much more than 'Spiritism,' which is the only term rightly applicable to the views of those who frequent séances. All occult phenomena, including most of the findings of the S.P.R., and every reference of anything to the supernormal, come under his lash. But his wild strokes do not accomplish nearly as much as he thinks. This is emphatically a case of *audi alteram partem*. The history, literature, methods, facts, even of Spiritism, to say nothing of the rest, include a great deal more than is so scornfully summarized in these his pages. Moreover it is not enough to say that 'two generations have passed since Spiritualism gained a footing in this country, wherefore it seems well that its origin and early history should have record. Few know that it came of tainted parentage, and that it grew up in an atmosphere of fraud which still clings to it.'¹ The 'tainted parentage' may be true. But it is not the whole truth. And as Dr. Fosdick points out, 'No tracing of origins can affect the real significance of anything. We must not compel larks to live under water because

sensory impressions; he has to deal with a multitude of conceptions and things for which he has no physical organ; the dynamical theory of heat, for instance, and of gases, the theories of electricity, of magnetism, of chemical affinity, of cohesion, and his apprehension of the Ether itself, lead him into regions where sight and hearing and touch are impotent as direct witnesses, where they are no longer efficient guides. In such region everything has to be interpreted in terms of the insensible, the apparently unsubstantial, and in a definite sense the imaginary. Yet these regions of knowledge are as clear and vivid to him as are any of those encountered in everyday occupations.'

¹ Pref., p. 7.

their forefathers were fishes.'¹ The astronomy of to-day, for all its wonder, had its origin in folly if not in fraud. Had there been no astrology we should yet have been under the Ptolemaic delusion. Modern chemistry originated in the absurdities of alchemy. The ancient notions and prescriptions of the healing art were as ridiculous as anything in *Raymond*. Modern science generally began in mistake and confusion. The atmosphere of occult research has certainly not been wholly fraud, or only folly. If all the instances alleged by Mr. Clodd are conceded, it does not follow that all 'psychical research is either 'pernicious' or absurd. Prof. Armstrong, we have seen, alleges that in its case 'logic is entirely discarded.' Well, but what logic is this? Certain mediums have been detected in fraud, therefore all psychical research constitutes 'a movement every aspect of which is pernicious.'! It would be equally logical to call to mind Newton's emission theory of light, and Huxley's Bathybius, and thence assume that every aspect of physics or biology was pernicious. Be the tricks of mediums what they may, any man who can study the Proceedings of the S.P.R., or the volumes on human personality by F. W. Myers, or the *whole* of Sir Oliver's much-abused *Raymond*, and pronounce these 'nauseating drivel,' must be definitely charged with the lack of either intelligence or sincerity. Similarly, Dr. Mercier's summary in the *Hibbert Journal*² of the methods and findings of psychical research, is nothing less than a slander, in regard to very much thereby included—

'Facts, or what are called facts, observed under hole-and-corner conditions, by those alone who are determined to see them in a certain light, and to interpret them in a certain way; facts that have never been seriously tested; facts from the observation of which independent observers are excluded; facts that never happen when sceptics are present; facts on which the observers have not been cross-examined—do not deserve the name of facts.'

No; nor does the attitude of mind which can pen such a

¹ P. 56.

² July, 1917, p. 613.

series of falsities in regard to a vast amount of research by men in every sense as competent and as acute as this critic, deserve the name of 'science.' That such things are possible, no one of the materialistic school knows or acknowledges more fully than those whose names are held up to so much contempt in Mr. Clodd's volume. But that these sneers apply to all their methods and results is simply false. It exhibits indeed an overweening intention which deserves all that this critic himself says on the preceding page, concerning Sir Oliver's work—"This attitude is thoroughly unscientific from top to bottom, and from beginning to end. It is wrong, root and branch, lock, stock, and barrel." And Sir Oliver's reply¹ is as true as mild, as sufficient as dignified.

'A little time ago a certain group of people said to me, "Produce your proofs." I had already produced some—I have now produced more. Now they appear to say, "Take us to the facts and convince us"—well knowing that they do not mean to be convinced. But it is not my function to act as showman. The facts are there, if they care to seek them; they lie as open to them as to me. If they seek, they will find; if they resolutely close their eyes, the loss is theirs. Their prejudice against our statements is born of a resolute certainty either that they are not true, or that our interpretation of them is wholly wrong and muddle-headed. Well, for the present we must agree to differ.'

The literature and records of the whole modern endeavour to investigate the possibility and actuality of human survival after death, are much more vast and various than Mr. Clodd chooses to acknowledge. In my own small library I find at least 130 books, all modern, bearing upon this theme. If Mr. Clodd and his friends think that all these and all else they represent are disposed of by retailing the tainted history of Spiritism, or denouncing the trickery of certain mediums, or pouring scorn upon the words and deeds of some modern physicists whose knowledge and character are at least equal to their own, then they certainly are labouring under a great delusion. In an open letter which can only be characterized as insulting, Mr. Clodd complains

¹ *Hibbert Journal*, Oct., 1917, p. 132.

about Sir Oliver's 'maleficent influence,' adding—'You and those who credit you and other notable men of science as speaking with authority, will not be shaken in your convictions.' But why should they be, just to oblige the Clodd-Mercier school, when they rest on such a basis as—some seven years ago now—Sir Oliver thus openly expressed :

'Speaking for myself and with full and *cautious responsibility*, I have to state that as an outcome of my investigation into psychical matters I have at length, and *quite gradually*, become convinced, after more than *twenty years of study*, not only that persistent individual existence is a fact, but that occasional communication across the chasm—with difficulty and under definite conditions—is possible.' ¹

The italics are ours as serving to show not only that such an attitude is truly and fully scientific, but that to characterize its methods and results as 'nauseating drivel and banal inanity,' is merely the sheer impertinence of prejudice. This estimate also applies to the semi-sneer in the words above quoted—'You and other notable men of science.' For amongst these must certainly be reckoned the Presidents of the S.P.R., who, to say the very least, are much more truly represented by Sir Oliver Lodge than by Mr. Clodd. And who are these dupes of credulity ?

'Beginning with Prof. Henry Sidgwick, one of the greatest ethical philosophers of the nineteenth century, there follow in order, Prof. Balfour Stewart, Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, Prof. Wm. James, Sir Wm. Crookes, Mr. F. W. H. Myers, Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir W. F. Barrett, Prof. Charles Richet, Rt. Hon. G. N. Balfour, Mrs. Hy. Sidgwick, Mr. H. H. Smith, Mr. Andrew Lang, Rt. Rev. Bp. Boyd Carpenter, and Prof. Henri Bergson.' ²

As to the gullibility and credulity of these 'leading occultists,' as expressed in the words of Mr. D. Blackburn, concerning which Prof. Armstrong avows that no 'more telling statement could be made'—it seems necessary to mention one or two testimonies. Prof. James declared openly in his volume on *The Will to Believe*, that 'in fact, were I asked to point to a scientific journal where hard-headedness and never-sleeping suspicion of sources of error might

¹ *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1911, p. 709.

² See Mr. Holmes' vol., p. 152, where chap. v gives a valuable and impartial summary of 'Immortality and Scientific Research.'

be seen in their full bloom, I think I should have to fall back upon the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research.¹ To which may well be added the summary of Mr. Holmes concerning the methods of this same society.

'Maeterlinck rightly describes its work as a 'masterpiece of scientific patience and conscientiousness.' Not an incident has been admitted into the record which has not been supported by unimpeachable evidence; and the canons of evidence used have been the strictest known. No better proof of the rigid character of the investigations conducted by the Society could be given than the secession some years ago of a number of members because of the impossible standard of proof exacted; and the bitter attacks to which it has been ever subjected by the Spiritist press, which has constantly referred to it as "the Society for the suppression of facts," "for the wholesale imputation of imposture," and "for the repudiation of every revelation pressing upon humanity from the regions of light and knowledge." Indeed it is not too much to say that the attitude of the Psychical Researchers from the beginning has been prevaillingly that of deep-rooted scepticism. Doubt until doubt becomes absurd; disbelief until disbelief is impossible; "prove all things, hold fast that which is good"—these have been the watch-words throughout.'²

He may well add with a note of exclamation, 'And yet it is still lightheartedly assumed that the workers in this field are not scientific in their methods and aims, but sentimental and superstitious!' When one compares this impartial testimony—impartial because Mr. Holmes does not accept the findings of the Society as Sir Oliver does—with the assumptions and assertions of Mr. Clodd and his friend, comment seems superfluous.

(2) What then of the closing paragraphs in which Mr. Clodd seeks to summarize his whole case. Thus:—

'To Job's question, "If a man die shall he live again?" science can answer neither "yes" nor "no"; all that can be said is that the evidence supplied by comparative psychology does not support the belief in a future life. It leaves it unsolved.

Into this universe and *Why* not knowing,
Nor *Whence*, like water willy-nilly flowing
And out of it as wind along the waste,
I know not *whither*, willy-nilly blowing.

One fact is clear; there has been no advance in ideas of the soul, and no advance in knowledge of the conditions of existence in any after life, from the dawn of thought to the present day. Spiritualism is the old animism writ large.'³

¹ P. 303.

² P. 175.

³ P. 301.

To deal with these bald assertions as they deserve, would require not a few pages beyond what is here possible. Suffice it, therefore, to contradict as flatly as language can express, both these main assertions. The 'one fact' alleged is not 'clear,' for it is not a fact at all. And certainly the allegation concerning comparative psychology is not 'all that can be said,' if truth is to avail.

As to the latter, the assumption is twofold. First, that 'psychical continuity' is proved to be the method of evolution. Secondly, that this is fatal to belief in a future life. But the scientific believer who to-day accepts the former, does not by any means concede the latter. Why should he? Mr. Clodd seems to think that the whole case is settled by a simple question—'At what stage in man's evolution was this spiritual essence or nature super-added?' One might well reply in his own words—'to put the question is to submit a problem the solution of which rests with its propounder.' But we may face it frankly for him. In Mr. Holmes' words, 'Somewhere in that long process of organic development the spirit of eternal life entered into the creature, and he became a living soul. Just how or when this took place, it is probably impossible to determine. Nor is the unveiling of this mystery essential to the demonstration of the fact.'¹ If Mr. Clodd insists that it is essential, then we are quite warranted in demanding from him the exact moment and the complete explanation of the arrival of his own self-consciousness, or his intellectual acumen, or his moral sense, or his power of volition. He may be challenged to say in regard to any one of these that his ignorance affects, let alone disproves, the reality of these elements of his present personality.² His own words are,

'What we further know is our ignorance. All the reactions and responses of our brains to our surroundings are accompanied by changes in consciousness; but what consciousness is, passes the wit of man to discover.'³

¹ *Is Death the End?* p. 124. ² P. 16. ³ *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1917, p. 602.

If, therefore, 'comparative psychology,' in Mr. Clodd's speech, stands for thorough-going evolution, then it does support the belief in a future life. For it not only suggests, but emphasizes, the rationality of the whole process, as belonging to a reasonable universe. Whence both Mr. Fiske's Theism and its accompaniment are warranted when he says—

'He who regards man as the consummate fruit of evolution and the chief object of Divine care, is almost irresistibly driven to the belief that the soul's career is not completed with the present life upon the earth. The more thoroughly we comprehend that process of evolution by which things have come to be what they are, the more we are likely to feel that to deny the everlasting persistence of the spiritual element in man is to rob the whole process of its meaning. It goes far toward putting us to permanent intellectual confusion; and I do not see that any one has as yet alleged, or is ever likely to allege, a sufficient reason for our accepting so dire an alternative.'¹

If reference to the 'Divine' is too much for Mr. Clodd and his friends, then we may for the moment (only) be content with Dr. Fosdick's summary—

'When one remembers that all science is based upon the fundamental assumption that the universe is reasonable, when one considers that all propositions are affirmed as true which are necessary to rationalize the facts of experience, it is clear that if personal permanence is necessary to the reasonableness of human life, which is a most important part of the universe, we have proof of immortality in which essentially the same intellectual process used by science in asserting the conservation of energy is applied to the loftier ranges of the spiritual life of man.'²

Yet once more—as to the 'one fact' which Mr. Clodd says is now 'clear.' There is such a fact, but it is not what he supposes, and it contradicts what he asserts. Real 'advance in ideas of the soul' has shown that Haeckel was utterly false when he declared that 'Man's mind, as a higher psychic function, is a special physiological function of the brain, or that particular part of the cortex of the brain which we call the phronema, or organ of thought.'³ In his volume on *Brain and Personality*, Dr. W. H. Thomson—writing as an unchallengeable expert—has shown the

¹ *Man's Destiny*, pp. 111–115. ² *Assurance of Immortality*, p. 88.

³ *Wonders of Life*, p. 90.

contrary to that estimate, and in so doing has contributed not a little to our advance in knowledge. If all that human personality connotes were absolutely dependent upon brain, then manifestly the destruction of the brain would be the end of all for every man. But such dependence is now definitely disproved, and psycho-physical parallelism leaves us perfectly free to accept the latest conclusion, in Bergson's words: 'Consciousness is distinct from the organism it animates, although it must undergo its vicissitudes—the destiny of consciousness is not bound up with the destiny of cerebral matter.'¹ So are Mr. Fiske's earlier words confirmed—'The materialistic assumption that the life of the soul ends with the life of the body, is perhaps the most colossal instance of baseless assumption that is known to the history of philosophy.'² And we may say to-day even more firmly than he did, that although 'upon these conclusions we cannot directly base an argument sustaining man's immortality, we certainly remove the only serious objection that has ever been alleged against it.'³ Personality is at once the most certain and the greatest reality in the universe. And physical death can no more touch that in humanity, than a hammer can smash an idea, or the destruction of a violin necessitate the destruction of the player. Dr. Thomson's volume above mentioned deserves much more notice than it has received, for therein he gives abundant warrant for his avowal that 'a great personality may possibly make a great brain'—it is not always so—'but no brain can make a great personality.'⁴ Hence it is far from enough to say that modern science just 'leaves unsolved' the great question of human immortality. It does much more. It deliberately affirms that there is nothing, either in its efforts or its findings, against the more hopeful answer to that question. In Dr. Fosdick's well-chosen words,

'When a man has canvassed all the standard objections to belief in personal permanence, he finds them manifestly inconclusive. So far

¹ Cf. Holmes, ch. iv. and p. 145.

² *Destiny of Man*, p. 110.

³ *Life Everlasting*, p. 81.

⁴ P. 228.

as anything that science has discovered is concerned, immortality is as possible as it is significant.'¹

Moreover there is scientific proof, in undeniable facts,—for all who are not wilfully blind,—of the possibility of ultra-cerebral communing here, which points definitely in the direction of ultra-cerebral continuity hereafter. In their scorn for telepathy Mr. Clodd and his friends make much of Prof. Sidgwick's attitude—almost indeed as if it was all-decisive. Let us then note what he himself says concerning telepathy—

'It is for this reason that I feel that a part of my grounds for believing in telepathy, depending as it does on personal knowledge, cannot be communicated, except in a weakened form, to the ordinary reader of the printed statements which represent the evidence that has convinced me. Indeed I feel this so strongly that I have always made it my highest ambition, as a psychical researcher, to produce evidence which will drive my opponents to doubt either my honesty or my veracity.'²

That should be strong enough, sceptical enough, even for Prof. Armstrong. And on his own terms it sets us free to accept and estimate the significance of telepathy, as being certainly a definite and pregnant 'advance in knowledge.'

It is no part of our task here even to summarize the scientific as well as religious reasons for cherishing the hope and maintaining the conviction, that for human beings death does not end all. So far as Mr. Clodd's book tends to check untrained credulity, we heartily welcome and endorse it. But it does not show that Sir Oliver Lodge and his co-workers are ignorant dupes; nor that the S.P.R. is composed of credulous time-wasters; nor that modern science forecloses all psychical inquiry; still less that it shuts the door of latest knowledge against our immortal hope. That which Mr. Clodd accomplishes counts for nothing against that which he ignores. The breadth, and length, and depth, and height of human personality are not 'cribbed, cabined, and confined' within a few cerebral cells. Our 'advance in knowledge' throws more widely

¹ P. 76.

² *Proceedings of S.P.R.*, vol. vi., pp. 1-6.

open than ever heretofore, the door of permission to accept and appreciate all those other than scientific reasons for hope beyond the grave, which come along the lines of Christian Theism and find their fullest confirmation in the testimony of Jesus Christ—He being not only Himself the plainest teacher of the life to come, but the strongest guarantee of its certainty. Mr. Clodd suggests that, ‘When a ghost of Spiritualism is laid, its epitaph should be, “Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me.”’ That may sound well, but it is a ‘pernicious’ suggestion. For its chopping out of such words from all connexion and consequent misapplication of them, is in itself a typical example of the biblical perversities of Agnosticism; and it is not true even of Spiritism at its worst, let alone of that whole vast body of earnest, pathetic, sincere, scientific inquiry, which may legitimately come under the head of ‘Spiritualism’ in these days.

At least we may be thankful that amidst the chaotic upheavals of our time, and with all the heavy pall of numberless bereavements on our hearts, modern science does *not* force upon us the miserably blind despair of the old Persian pessimist which seems so satisfactory to Mr. Clodd. Rather does it leave the modern student free to say, with his eyes as wide open as his heart is full—

My own dim life should teach me this,
That life shall live for evermore,
Else earth is darkness at the core,
And dust and ashes all that is.

Our real advance in knowledge, whilst not satisfying any more than the New Testament our curiosity as to the ‘conditions of existence in any after life,’ yet does not only permit but encourage us to turn to the God whom Jesus bids us ever think of as **THE FATHER**, with the humble yet confident trust—

Thou wilt not leave us in the dust;
Thou madest man, he knows not why,
He thinks he was not made to die;
And Thou hast made him:—Thou art just.

FRANK BALLARD.

MARK RUTHERFORD'S SCRAP-BOOKS

I WILL preface what I have to say in this paper about Mark Rutherford¹ with some words of his own. In the last paragraph of a short essay on Shelley's birthplace,² he says: 'I have only one word to add, by way of apology for what many persons will perhaps consider the triviality of these details. Whether a detail be trivial or not, depends upon the love we bear to the man to whom it relates. I suppose that most persons would rather know what Shakespeare was doing on any one day from dawn to sunset, even when he was a boy, than be instructed as to the history of the Congress of Vienna. So long as man is man, he will try to discover the minutest particulars about those whom he worships, and the colour of a lock of hair will often be of more importance to him than the fortunes of a kingdom.' That is the spirit which prompts what is written here. What may be Mark Rutherford's ultimate place in English literature it is as yet too soon to say. Mr. H. W. Massingham is, indeed, bold enough to prophesy that when the tale of the great Victorian writers is made up in the years to come, 'Mark Rutherford's name, like Ben Adhem's, will lead all the rest.'³ On this I say nothing; I only know that there are those no longer young who, for many years, have found in Mark Rutherford's writings what they find nowhere else, and who welcome with eagerness any details, however trivial, that may help

¹ Mark Rutherford's real name, of course, was William Hale White, but throughout this paper I make use of the name by which he himself chose to be known to the general public.

² First published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, March, 1879, reprinted with corrections in the *Bookman*, June, 1912, and now included in the posthumous volume, *Last Pages from a Journal*.

³ *Nation*, March 22, 1913.

them better to understand this chosen companion of their intellectual and spiritual life.

Through the courtesy of Miss Mary T. Hale White there have recently come into my hands, with full permission to make such use of them as I think good, three of her father's books. One is a bound collection of miscellaneous pamphlets and magazine articles; the others are books of newspaper cuttings compiled and edited by himself. Of the pamphlets I will say something presently. The scrap-books—to all at least who care for Mark Rutherford—are of surpassing interest, and I count it a great privilege to be the medium through which Miss Hale White's kindness is made serviceable to others. The cuttings extend over a period of nearly fifty years, and are made from a wide variety of publications both English and American.¹ They begin with a long letter to the *Daily News* on the American Civil War, not dated, but written apparently about 1864, and end with the *Manchester Guardian* report of an address by Mr. Arthur Hughes on the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, September 4, 1911.² Speaking broadly, the extracts are of two kinds, one referring to persons, events, subjects, in whom and in which Mark Rutherford was specially interested, the other consisting of fugitive writings of his own, either in the form of letters to the Press, or unprinted articles.

There are no more interesting pages in these volumes than those which relate to Mark Rutherford's father, William White. Mr. White was in his way a really remarkable man, and if ever the story of his gifted son's life comes to be written something further should be said concerning him. For the moment, I must be content to piece together a

¹ There is also one cutting from the *Journal des Débats*, July, 1907—a brief notice of Mark Rutherford's own books.

² It is worthy of note that the last words of the last cutting are these: 'And now all are gone! (Hunt, Millais, and Rossetti). But, being here, they touched so high a level that I cannot help believing that they are serving yet; perhaps with the saints, and if so, I think those saints will be San Giotto, San Fra Angelico, and San Bellini.' In eighteen months Rutherford himself was gone also, and 'his soul,' too, 'is with the saints, I trust.'

few of the fragments contained in these scrap-books. Some of them are inaccurate, and may be ignored ;¹ others have already found their way into that tiny autobiography, *The Early Life of Mark Rutherford*, and need not be repeated ; but a few, I think, are new. At the time of his death Mr. White had been gone from Bedford nearly thirty years, but his fellow-townsmen had not forgotten their indebtedness to him. In the *Early Life* will be found the resolution of appreciation and regard passed by the Committee of the Public Library. This was Mark Rutherford's letter of acknowledgement :

Park Hill, Carshalton, March 7, 1882.

'My dear —, Will you please convey to the Committee of the Literary and Scientific Institute the thanks of my sisters and myself for the resolution they have passed. I do not know that any tribute to the memory of my father would have been more valued than one from his native town and ours. It will be preserved carefully as an added incentive to those with which his life will stir us all to walk in the footsteps of one remarkable for a singular honesty of purpose, and a love of light in every department of human activity in which he busied himself. I have left Bedford for a great many years. It is closer to me now, however, than it ever was, and I wish I could but render to it in thankful testimony of its appreciation of my father's worth some service equivalent to the hundredth part of what he tried to do for the place of his birth. I can do nothing however but thank you, and this I do with the utmost sincerity and much emotion.'

Ten years after William White left Bedford, Dr. John Brown, the biographer of Bunyan, became the pastor of the famous Bunyan Meeting-house—the 'Tanner's Lane' of Mark Rutherford's well-known story—with which White himself had been so long associated. Dr. Brown's tribute, reproduced here in full from the *Bedfordshire Mercury*, is much too long for me to quote, but it called forth a letter from Mark Rutherford which will be read with interest. It is dated 'Carshalton, Surrey, March 13, 1882.'

'Mr. Brown's sermon on the death of my father is worth correction upon two points. Mr. Brown says that my father left Bunyan Meeting because the church did not support him in his controversy with one of the Dissenting colleges. I am anxious that it should be known that

¹ Over one cutting from a well-known publication, which I will not name, Mark Rutherford has written, 'almost all lies.'

his separation from the chapel was due, not to any personal and insufficient cause such as that assigned, but to a conviction, the gradual growth of years, that what he heard in the chapel in those days taught him nothing and satisfied no want. He ceased to attend the chapel before the controversy with the college commenced. Mr. Brown further thinks that my father's noblest, best, and happiest days were those in which he was in loyal allegiance to the Christian Church. By "allegiance to," I may observe in passing, I suppose Mr. Brown means "communion with," as allegiance he, at any rate, would reserve for the Head of the Church. With regard to "noblest and best," I am no impartial judge, but with regard to the "happiest," my father certainly was never happier than during the last thirty years of his life. The implication that he was not in communion with the Christian Church may perhaps mislead some who are not aware of the technical sense in which the word Church is used by Dissenters. With the Church, giving the term a somewhat wider signification, and one which, I believe, would have been sanctioned by its Founder, my father was in fullest communion up to the hour when death laid his hand upon him.'

One further reference to the father which these scrap-books furnish is from the pen of the veteran journalist, Sir Edward Russell. From the day when he first made Mr. White's acquaintance, Sir Edward says, he was 'so to speak, my Parliamentary protector and my intimate and revered friend. I had known the rather brusque, shock-headed door-keeper by sight long enough. Now I found what a jewel of a man was thus roughly encased. He became, and was to the day of his death, one of the most intimate and most delightful friends I ever had. As a much older man, he was immensely kind to me in the beginnings of my literary work and political work, and, indeed, in every way was a choice and pleasant companion and mentor of my mind for many years. I remember when a certain book, one of the best known in the English world—I will not name it—came out, White wrote to me these simple words: "Here is the religion you have been wishing for."¹ . . . There was not a finer, clearer example in England of what a Whig should become if he kept up with the times.'

The name which occurs most frequently in these extracts, the Rev. T. W. Chignell, is now, save by a very few readers,

¹ The book referred to, Sir Edward Russell kindly tells me, was Matthew Arnold's *Literature and Dogma*.

wholly forgotten. Mr Chignell was Mark Rutherford's cousin, some five years his senior, and, like him, trained for the ministry of the Congregational Church.¹ Later he became a Unitarian, and officiated first at Portsmouth, and afterwards for many years at George's Chapel, South Street, Exeter. He was a man of wide culture and unusual power, and the many reports of his sermons, lectures, and addresses, taken from West of England newspapers and carefully pasted in these pages, as late as 1882, are evidence of the high and enduring regard in which he was held by his cousin.² The only other sermons that find a place in the scrap-books are four by Benjamin Jowett, and Dean Stanley's funeral sermon on Lord Palmerston. There are several columns of extracts devoted to Edward Irving, and the celebration of the centenary of his birth at Annan, in 1892. Caleb Morris,³ to whom perhaps Mark Rutherford owed more than to any other man, is represented only by a few lines, and a rather indifferent religious poem entitled, 'Holiness to the Lord.'

Nor is there much fresh light in these pages on Mark Rutherford's political sympathies. The preservation of an old election hand-bill, showing the state of the poll at

¹ See *Early Life*, page 55.

² While Chignell was at Portsmouth Alexander McLaren was preaching not far away at Southampton. As Mark Rutherford often occupied his cousin's pulpit the three men became acquainted. 'Dr. McLaren,' says Sir William Robertson Nicoll, 'when I asked him about this connexion said that of the three—himself, Hale White, and Chignell—Chignell was by far the best man.' (*A Bookman's Letters*, p. 371.)

It may be worth mentioning that among the cuttings which relate to Chignell are some letters signed, 'William Cobbett,' vigorously trouncing a clerical correspondent who had attacked him. In the last of the series the writer, after saying that he is an old friend of Chignell's, to whom he owes more than he can ever repay, drops the name of Cobbett and signs himself, 'Yours (cabalistically), W. W. UP.' This looks like William White, and the conjecture is confirmed both by the style of the letters and the choice of a pseudonym; but what 'UP.' signifies is more than I can guess.

³ See the striking tribute to him reprinted in *Last Pages from a Journal*, p. 244.

Westminster when John Stuart Mill was defeated, reflects the admiration which he always felt for Mill during his brief political career. There is an interesting note, too, on Disraeli. Some one had said that William White always wrote about Disraeli as 'a charlatan and an adventurer.' This Mark Rutherford denied. 'It would have been impossible for him,' he says, 'although he was a Radical, to sum up Disraeli in such a phrase. The truth is that the better Disraeli was known the more difficult it became to sum him up in a phrase, or in any collection of phrases. I was in the House myself when the news came of Cobden's death. Mr. Gladstone's eulogium was heavy and laboured; Disraeli, after referring to his conflicts with Cobden, paused and sat down with this sentence: "He is dead, but he will for ever remain a member of this House." About ten years afterwards Disraeli astonished the Church and mankind generally by his noble speech in defence of Byron. When he was in this mood—or, as it will perhaps be more correct to put it, when he revealed what he really was or might have been—everything against him was forgotten by those who, like my father, were apt to forget the errors, and even the sins, of genius. Men entirely opposed to Disraeli both in character and politics acknowledged an authority in him which no mere charlatan could ever wield. Sir John Trelawney, one of the purest Radicals of the old school represented by John Stuart Mill, said to me, "Whenever I enter the House I look round to see if Disraeli is in his place. If he is not, I feel that the House is not complete." To the editor of a Bedfordshire paper who asked for 'A New Century Message,' Mark Rutherford sent this little fragment of a political confession of faith:

'I have been nearly all my life in the Civil Service, and have had also much to do with the House of Commons. I believe that the time is coming when it will be the duty of upright electors to ask themselves in the first place, not what the imperial politics of a candidate are, but whether he is honest. I do not mean whether he can be bribed with money—bribery with money is not fashionable now—but whether he can be trusted to obey his conscience and do his duty to the people

who send him to Parliament. A large and increasing minority of the House of Commons represents, and in many cases professedly, great corporations, or interests as they are called, and combine in a solid phalanx whenever those interests are touched. This evil is growing, and if it continues to grow, the interests will be omnipotent, and the people will be bound hand and foot. I myself am strongly opposed to the South African war, but if two men solicited my vote, one of them a Radical director put forward by his Company, and accepted by the party agent in London, and the other a Tory country gentleman, uncontaminated by the Stock Exchange, I should—sorrowfully somewhat, but unhesitatingly—give my suffrage to the Tory.'

Every reader of Mark Rutherford's books will remember the frequency and beauty of his references to the heavens, both by day and by night. Here a little batch of notes and queries reveals the keenness and constancy of his astronomical studies. In one he inquires as to the authority for a story which tells how 'when the Saracens invaded Europe the Pope cursed a great comet which hung over Constantinople, and was thought to have something to do with the disaster.' Elsewhere he calls Coleridge, Tolstoy, and Mr. Gosse to account for their 'extraordinary astronomy,' and adds: 'The list of blunders made by literary people when they describe the sky at night would be a long one, and they do but reflect the general ignorance. It is strange and sad that few persons nowadays can recognize the constellations and the planets.' From this general condemnation, however, he is careful in another note to except Tennyson, who, he says, 'is, I think, never incorrect in his reference to any natural object.' After this we shall not be surprised to read in the *Times* report of the proceedings of the British Astronomical Association (February 1, 1895), of 'a paper by Mr. W. Hale White, describing a series of observations of sun-spots which he had made to test the truth of Wilson's theory which supposes the spots to be cavities.'

But the subject which in these pages predominates over all others is literature—literature in general, and English literature in particular. France is represented by Victor Hugo, Russia by Tolstoy and Turguénieff, America by Thoreau, Emerson, and Whitman. I was hardly prepared

for the large place given to Whitman, larger I think than that given to any other man of letters except Carlyle,¹ and including an unreprinted essay, 'The Genius of Walt Whitman,' by Rutherford himself.² The extracts relating to English men of letters I can but roughly sample. We have in full Carlyle's will, and his famous address as rector of Edinburgh University. A letter in *Notes and Queries*, signed 'W. Hale White,' sets a note of interrogation in the margin against one of the over-confident statements in Froude's *Bunyan*.³ On another page is the telegram announcing the death of Ruskin; it was handed in at Orpington on January 20, 1900, and reads as follows:

'Ruskin passed peacefully away this afternoon. Allen.'

There are two letters to the *Athenaeum*, dated March 21, 1885, and November 24, 1888, commenting very severely on the 'extraordinary number of errors' in Knight's *Wordsworth*. 'As it now stands,' Mr. Hale White writes, 'this handsome edition is worthless.' But the literary extracts which interest me most are two from the same journal and the same pen referring to George Eliot. The first (November 28, 1885) is a criticism of the *Life* by Mr. Cross:

'As I had the honour of living in the same house, 142, Strand, with George Eliot for about two years, between 1851 and 1854, I may perhaps be allowed to correct an impression which Mr. Cross's book may possibly produce on its readers. To put it very briefly, I think he has made her too "respectable." She was really one of the most sceptical, unusual creatures I ever knew, and it was this side of her character which to me was the most attractive. She told me that it

¹ See, however, an *obiter dictum* quoted by Sir William Robertson Nicoll: 'In my humble opinion, Mr. Whitman is one of the very greatest of living poets, but he is peculiar, and his peculiarities are certainly not after the manner of Mr. Newman Hall.' (*A Bookman's Letters*, p. 401.)

² This essay appeared in the *Secular Review*. Three other papers from this magazine, also unreprinted, have a place in the scrap-book: 'Marcus Antoninus,' 'Ixion,' and 'Heathen Ethics.'

³ Froude says that Bunyan attended the Bedford Grammar School. Mark Rutherford, as an old scholar of the school, would like to think Bunyan was there before him; but he doubts it. Later, when he wrote his own book on Bunyan (*Literary Lives Series*) he was quite confident that Froude was wrong. The publication in the interim of Dr. John Brown's biography had, undoubtedly, helped to settle the point.

was worth while to undertake all the labour of learning French if it resulted in nothing more than reading one book—Rousseau's *Confessions*. That saying was perfectly symbolical of her, and reveals more completely what she was, at any rate in 1851–54, than page after page of attempt on my part at critical analysis. I can see her now, with her hair over her shoulders, the easy chair half sideways to the fire, her feet over the arms, and a proof in her hands, in that dark room at the back of No. 142, and I confess I hardly recognize her in the pages of Mr. Cross's—on many accounts—most interesting volumes. I do hope that in some future edition, or in some future work, the salt and spice will be restored to the records of George Eliot's entirely unconventional life. As the matter now stands, she has not had full justice done to her, and she has been removed from the class—the great and noble church, if I may so call it—of the insurgents, to one more genteel, but certainly not so interesting.'

The other reference to George Eliot occurs in a short obituary notice of John Chapman (December 8, 1894) :

'George Eliot in those days (that is, between 1851–54) lived in Mr. Chapman's house, assisted him in the editorship of the *Westminster Review*, and wrote for it. She occupied two dark but very quiet rooms at the end of a long passage which runs back from the front and at right angles to the street ; but she had her meals with the family. She was then not quite what she appeared to be in later years. She never reserved herself, but always said what was best in her at the moment, even when no special demand was made upon her. Consequently, she found out what was best in everybody. I have not heard better talk than hers, even when there was nobody to listen but myself and the ordinary members of the Chapman household. As I ventured to point out in the *Athenaeum* some years ago, those persons who know nothing of her life, excepting what has appeared in print about it, or from casual acquaintance with her when she was much older, will most likely mistake her, and will not give her credit for the tenderness and defiance which were really so characteristic of her. On Wednesday evenings Mr. and Mrs. Chapman entertained their friends and any Americans of note who happened to be in London. Emerson was there once or twice, and Mr. G. H. Lewes constantly. . . . Dr. Chapman ought to have left behind him a mass of interesting correspondence which has not yet seen the light, and it is a curious thing that to the biographies of George Eliot he has contributed nothing.'

Besides those that have already been named, these scrap-books contain four short pieces by Mark Rutherford, which are not included in his published works. They are :
1. 'Our Debt to France' (*Bookman*, August, 1892). 2. 'Two Martyrs' (*Bookman*, February, 1893)—a poignant

¹ Compare with these extracts the well-known passage in the *Autobiography* (in which Chapman appears disguised as Wollaston and George Eliot as his niece Theresa), the *Early Life*, pp. 82–4, and an article, 'George Eliot as I Knew Her,' in *Last Pages from a Journal*, pp. 131–7.

and unforgettable little sketch which certainly ought to be reprinted. 3. 'What Mr. Emerson Owed to Bedfordshire' (*Athenaeum*, May 13, 1882), from which I take the following: 'When Mr. Emerson was last in this country, I asked him who were his chief friends in America. He replied: "I find many among the Quakers. I know one simple old lady in particular, whom I especially honour. She said to me, 'I cannot think what you find in me which is worth notice.' Ah!" continued Mr. Emerson to me, "if she had said yea, and the whole world had thundered in her ear nay, she would still have said yea." That was why he honoured her.'¹ 4. A note on Holman Hunt's great picture, 'Isabella and the Pot of Basil' (*Aberdeen Herald*, May 2, 1868): 'In the days of platitudes and commonplace, when all human beings are worn down to uniform similarity; when all the freshness of God's mint is ground out of men's faces by mammon-worship, and when no emotion is ever felt sufficient to ruffle our dull stagnation for more than a moment, to go aside for half-an-hour, and gaze upon a love with such heights and such depths in it as there are in that which is presented to us here is beyond almost all other restorative influences I know.'

There remains for mention a number of Mark Rutherford's letters to the Press, on a great variety of subjects, and above a considerable variety of signatures. Almost the only review of his own books which finds a place here is one of the well-known letters of 'Claudius Clear' in the *British Weekly*, and this apparently only in order to explain the reply from 'Reuben Shapcott' which follows:

'I have never,' he says, 'contradicted hitherto any of the stories afloat as to the authorship and author of the books by Mark Rutherford which I have edited, nor should I trouble you now if the mis-statements by 'Claudius Clear'

¹ Much of this paper was afterwards incorporated in the sketch 'Peter Bulkley' (*Last Pages*, pp. 194-208). Bulkley was a direct ancestor, in the maternal line, of Emerson.

affected solely my friend. But as the names of other persons are mentioned, I have no choice, and I must deny altogether that the portraits of John Broad and Isaac Allen were taken from the gentlemen whom "Claudius Clear" has named. The type which Broad represents was so common at the time when the events in "Tanner's Lane" are supposed to have taken place that half-a-dozen persons whom my friend knew resembled it more or less, and Mr. Allen, if he ever had a bodily existence, was never in all his life within fifty miles of the Ouse.' He acknowledges the generosity of 'Claudius Clear's' criticism, but, he adds, 'I cannot help a protest against the charge of immorality brought against "Clara Hopgood." The accusation is another proof that, even in a country which calls the New Testament a sacred book and professes to read it, the distinction between real and sham morality is almost unknown.' Londoners, at least, should read with interest that it was a brief note to the *Times*, dated October 31, 1876, and signed 'W,' which began the long and finally successful agitation against the enclosure of Banstead Downs. Ten years later a leading article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* celebrated the 'victory on the Downs' and pointed back to 'W's' letter as the first note of warning. Both leading article and letter may be read here. Another letter is a weary Pressman's protest against the House of Commons style of oratory—'at present the most roundabout, artificial, and wearisome of any style, parochial, municipal, or legislative, to be found under the sun,'—and urges the adoption of a time limit; ¹ while yet another (which called forth a sympathetic response from Ruskin) tells of the writer's vain search around London, 'from Erith on the east to Chertsey on the west,' for a house in which a man of limited means could live and do his work. Perhaps the most character-

¹ Mark Rutherford, it will be remembered, spent much time in reporting the proceedings of the House of Commons; see the first chapter of the *Deliverance* and *A Bookman's Letters*, pp. 371-387.

istic of these casual letters is one from Hastings to the *Spectator*, on the subject of 'The Cheap Tripper.' 'I never forget,' he says, 'that a man is not any the less a tripper because he goes to Switzerland rather than to Ramsgate; but,' he goes on, 'the sights to be seen in Hastings in broad daylight without searching were incredible.'

'It became clear to me in these July-August days that immense numbers of human beings are not yet at such a stage in their development that beauty has any power over them. They have no respect for it, and it is of no use to them; secondly, it became also clear that our so-called civilization is the thinnest of films, which at any time may vanish, and that we have no reasons to present to people which have any power over them to compel even a fig-leaf. The fact is that the old authority is disappearing, and there is no systematic attempt as yet to supply its place by ethical training. The popular creed is that all that is necessary is improvement in reading, writing, and arithmetic, with Sunday bands, museums, art, and green fields thrown in. I am afraid this will prove a delusion. The men who behaved under my eyes like dogs were not the "residuum" or the "dregs," but wore flannels and blazers. Some day, when our dying religion is quite dead and we have got rid of the hereditary instinct still surviving as the last trace of bygone struggle and victory, we shall be awakened by a revolution not exactly like anything seen before.'

I have by no means exhausted the interest of these fascinating volumes, but I have only space left for a few words concerning the collection of pamphlets, &c., to which reference has already been made. It contains, among other things, the Christmas numbers of Charles Dickens' *All the Year Round*, for four years; some magazine articles by Emerson published in 1857-58; a sermon by the Rev. T. W. Chignell, and two pamphlets, belonging to the late 'sixties, by John Stuart Mill and G. J. Holyoake, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. But here, too, the more noteworthy things are those which have to do with Mark Rutherford himself. They are three in number:

1. An article from *Chambers's Journal* entitled, 'Births, Deaths, and Marriages,' but without either name or date. At the top of it, however, is pencilled in Mark Rutherford's writing: 'By W. Hale White,' and the date I find is March 6, 1858. This article, therefore, which has somehow escaped even the lynx-eyed editor of the *British Weekly*,

is in all probability Mark Rutherford's first printed work, and thus, as the editor of *Chambers's Journal* claims with pardonable pride, Mark Rutherford is one of the band of noted writers who made their first appearance in the pages of that famous magazine. The subject of the article is easily understood when it is known that two days after leaving John Chapman's office, in February, 1854, Mark Rutherford obtained a clerkship in the Registrar-General's Office, Somerset House, and that in 1857 he was appointed Registrar of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, in Marylebone. In these records, he says, 'lies the real history of the English people for the last twenty years. My history's epochs are my birth, my marriage, and the memorable days when Tom and Jack, Susan and Jane, came into the world and gathered round me. The history of the nation may be in Macaulay or in the columns of the *Times*, but the history of the people is in the Registrar-General's vaults at Somerset House.'

2. A sixpenny pamphlet dated 1866 and entitled: *An Argument for an Extension of the Franchise, a Letter Addressed to George Jacob Holyoake, Esq., by William Hale White*. This was Mark Rutherford's first separate publication,¹ and a very vigorous and trenchant bit of writing it is, as one brief extract will show:

'The working classes, I know, are told they are immoral, and easily to be bought, nine-tenths of them, with a pot of beer. But who offers the pot? Is not the immorality of offering it as great as the immorality of drinking it? Do we dread bribery and corruption? Let us also dread the bribers and corruptors, and consider from what class they have uniformly sprung. Surely it is something inconsistent in the rich to turn round upon the poor, and say we fear to give you a vote because it is very probable we shall be induced to buy it. Why, too, this conventional horror of beer and a five-pound note? Why not an equal horror of the railway director who goes to parliament to get the "direct line"? Why not an equal horror of the man who will support any Government that will make his borough a packet station? Why not, in fact, an equal horror of those who oppose the income tax solely because it touches their pockets,

¹ The *Autobiography*, which came next, did not appear until 1881, when its author was nearly fifty.

and diminishes the enjoyment of pots of a superior quality ? Let us then cease our hypocritical jeremiads over the inferior virtues of those who are beneath us, and be assured that if we do not sin against the trust reposed in us, neither will they.'

3. Another sixpenny pamphlet, dated 1852, the title of which again I quote in full : '*To Think, or Not To Think? Remarks upon the late expulsions from New College, St. John's Wood.* By W. White (father of one of the expelled).' Then follow a quotation from Milton's *Areopagitica*, half a dozen stanzas of 'In Memoriam,' and twenty-six pages of argument and remonstrance, together with an appendix, reprinted from the correspondence columns of the *Nonconformist*, in which the three offending students—Messrs. Robert M. Theobald, William Hale White, and Frederic M. White—state their view of the circumstances which led to their expulsion. This is the only copy of this rare pamphlet that I have seen. I had, of course, read Mark Rutherford's own brief extracts from it in his *Early Life*, but it is no small satisfaction to have been permitted to see for oneself what is perhaps the most interesting and valuable of all the documents contained in these Rutherford scrap-books.

And what, after all, somebody may ask, is the worth of these things—mere sweepings of the desk, or the floor ? I can only answer again, it depends on the love we bear to the man to whom they relate. Those who share the writer's feeling about Mark Rutherford will not ask the question, and it is only for them these pages are written.

GEORGE JACKSON.

THE CURSE OF INDIA

'**C**ASTE is the curse of India,' bitterly exclaimed Dr. Ramier, a brilliant young Dravidian medical officer, as he lay dying last year in the 3rd London General Hospital, Wandsworth, of phthisis contracted among our troops in France. What that young patriot felt every man who has great aims and hopes for India's advancement must equally feel. The wave of democratic ideas that has passed round the world has nowhere found so enormous a hindrance to their practical application as that which is supplied by the system of Indian caste. The profound antipathy to the negro in the southern States of America, resulting in the persistent denial to him of equal rights with the white, is a relative sentiment compared with that absolute one which exists between the high-caste Hindu and the tens of millions of outcaste tribes of our great Indian Dependency. It generates a feeling akin to despair to read in the English press statements that assume the possible easy application of our democratic ideals and methods of government to Indian conditions, and that this can be done in a comparatively direct and simple manner.

Leaving out the fact that India is not a simple idea or a single country, but a vast continent of races, numbering about 320 millions of people, ranging in civilization from the stone age to the highest types of humanity, and further, leaving out the fact that there are in India races and creeds generally non-caste—like the Mohammedans, Buddhists, and Sikhs—numbering something like close on one hundred millions, there is a huge block of caste-observing tribes and races that by their very constitution and ideals negative some of our most cherished ideas, and that conceive of society under other categories of thought than those we

are used to. Things of no import to us are of quite infinite consequence to them, and the profoundest religious sanctions are felt to be attached to laws and usages that to us are grotesquely wrong and unjust: to challenge those laws is blasphemy and to change those usages impious. They apprehend the most terrible consequences as certainly accruing to them from any such action. How tremendous a political catastrophe the neglecting and breaking of caste rule, and the despising of caste as an idea, may lead up to, the Indian Mutiny taught Indian governors once for all: never again.

Now in the strange changes of history the lesson that Englishmen have learnt, the young India of to-day needs to study for itself. Intoxicated by the new wine of the great ideas of human equality and brotherhood, and of equal justice for every man, woman, and child, young India, as represented by her Western-educated classes, is reaching after its full share in the control of its State life. India, in them, is seeking to govern India, and to govern it not only parochially and provincially but imperially; and place and power are being sought for in every grade of government, the final goal being India for the Indians, as a free and integral portion of the British Empire, but only as long as that shall be felt to be conducive to India's wellbeing. A self-determined destiny is finally to be theirs, unhampered by British aims or control.

But in the present stage of discussion hardly any reference is made to caste as a deterrent to the realization of democratic ideals. Yet nothing is surer than that caste is in India the rock on which the cargo of modern democratic ideals is likely to be wrecked. Indian students and reformers eager for quick change often ignore caste, but it lies in the way of their aims, much as the fact of American slavery lay in the way of the realization of the dreams of the men who drew up the Declaration of Independence in America, and had subsequently to be dealt with at a

terrible cost. Vain was it for the Declaration to vaunt that all men were free and equal when the men who signed it held slavery permissible, and maintained the institution. Illogicalities in morals have a way of avenging themselves. Justice is the same the world over. The German doctrine of the Open Door into China elicited the flat reply that the door opened both ways, and permitted seventy millions of Germans to come in, but also permitted four hundred millions of Chinese to go out and flood Germany: then arose a cry of Yellow Peril. Men need cool heads and long views if they are to touch problems of government, whether West or East, and young India needs calling to account for its non-discussion of the position it holds on the question of caste, and on the mode in which it proposes to deal with anything in the shape of real representation in government of the rights of the out-castes of India. How, for instance, would it stand related to, or deal with, a proposal for a scheme that might lead to a pariah holding place not only for purposes of counsel, but for legislation and administration, in the Highest Courts and Councils, along with, and not necessarily at all subordinate to, a Mohammedan or Brahmin? A scheme of fancy franchises is being elaborated by some, but its very nature negatives the fundamental fact of democratic government, viz.: that there is a great demos or people, solid, equal, homogeneous, capable of being split up into sizeable constituencies, which can be geographically determined, the representatives of which may form a legislative and administrative assembly, something like in powers to the British Commons, with responsible ministers. Such a democracy does not exist in caste India, nor can it till caste pure and simple passes away. The very texture of society has a different arrangement from anything met with in the West. It is as though in the rocks of a geological series a system of faults had so regularly and pronouncedly cut across the ordinary stratification as to make the faulting the primary characteristic, and to subordinate to it the

ordinary stratified series of aqueous rocks. The power of caste as an idea, indeed, is so great that, except under the influence of the Mohammedan sword, it has tended always to create the resemblance of itself in the barbarous tribes upon which it has impinged from time to time; so that outside the proper castes it has created a large number of tightly organized outcaste castes, if I may so say, who glory in creating usages in their own septs parallel to those which they observe in their superiors, much as modern young India admires and adopts the Western ideas and usages of its envied governors.

What is this strange thing—Caste? Only with difficulty does the English mind bring itself to the point of view where its nature can be appreciated, its utility realized, its authority felt, or its tremendous social and religious sanctions adequately understood. Viewing India broadly to-day it appears as if some system of tightly locked trade and professional unions had spread its tentacles over a whole continent (there are one hundred million more people in India than in all Africa), and as if those unions had a wonderful system of rules and customs provided with terrible religious and social sanctions. The breach of those customs and rules incurs awful and mysterious spiritual penalties, and at times may strip a man, as many a convert to Christianity knows, of wife, child, and all his share in the property of his family: he is absolutely alone and destitute. In the dark backward and abysm of time a mysterious divine authority gave sanction to caste rules and usages, and to infringe them to-day is to incur the odium of being a black-leg in one's trade or professional union, and a Judas in one's religion: a man is damned beyond redemption here and hereafter, and Karma exacts its penalty 'as surely as the wheel of the ox-cart follows the hoof of the ox.'

The traditional origin of the four principal items of the caste series is expressed in the Purusha hymn of the *Rig Veda*, Mandala x. 90.

With Purusha as victim they performed
A sacrifice. When they divided him,
How did they cut him up? What was his mouth?
What were his arms? and what his thighs and feet?
The Brahman was his mouth, the kingly soldier
Was made his arms, the husbandman his thighs,
The servile Sudra issued from his feet.

The one Spirit becoming incarnate allowed himself thus to be sacrificed. From him in the manner indicated sprang the Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra castes. That is the myth created by the institution. As a matter of fact to-day caste exists as an enormous series of social distinctions, each called a caste. The Indian word is *jati*, birth. The number of such castes is given in the latest Government returns as nearly 2,400. The usual modern theory as to the origin of the institution is that the incursion of highly civilized invaders into Indian aboriginal society led to the creation of 'moral barriers' between themselves and the conquered for the preservation of their own higher standards of life, the result of which was the creation of caste. The feeling and usages that are current in South Africa or in the United States of America between the white and black races is an illustration that may serve as an analogy to help us to realize the mode of creation of the Indian caste system. (Invaders are always 'cultured,' German included.) An attempt was made in this way to save a higher civilization from degradation by circumambient barbarism. But as we behold caste to-day it is a collection of groups of families bearing a common name and doing some commonly recognized piece of work in the community, owning common descent from some mythical person, and endogamous within its circle. New castes are constantly in process of formation from aboriginal tribes even to-day; they are also formed in many other ways, as *e.g.*, from new functions assumed in a constantly changing community; from the formation of religious sects; from crossing through intertribal marriages; from something like the tradition, as in the case of Marathas, of a separate nationality; from migration into a fresh

area, where isolated from their homes they become a separate caste ; from the adoption of new customs and usages or the relinquishing of old ones. The unchanging East is a phrase of Western dullness: humanity is one. Even the great religions such as Mohammedanism and Sikhism tend under the pressure of the caste atmosphere to conform to its spirit and to reproduce its usages in time.

Caste has not been without its value in the conditions that have obtained in India. It created a tribal system guaranteeing security for its members as against the encroachments of all who were outside it. A man's rights as an individual, where those rights were not accepted as part of caste rights and privileges, might easily be infringed, and few or none would care whether justice were done him or not, but it would be quite another matter if some caste right of his were infringed: in that case the universal strike of the caste would soon bring the general community to heel, and especially as caste rights are based on religious sanctions and the duties of one caste cannot easily be assumed by another, and in some cases not at all. Religious defilement attaches to many acts that one caste may perform with impunity and others not. Caste may be a fortress against tyranny. But the excessive splitting up and subordination of orders, the mutual exclusion of men of different castes from ordinary social relations, such as marriage and eating together, the abject slavishness of the outcaste man in the presence of the caste man, the lordliness and superiority assumed of immemorial and divine right by the priestly and higher castes, are the utter negation of the spirit and purpose of democratic ideals; and if Indian caste is to maintain its present hold over the minds and action of the Hindu communities, it can only do so at the expense of maimed democratic government, with the perpetual menace that must arise from the enlightenment of the lower castes and tribes, and the longing for liberty to pursue happiness in its own way that every human heart

is endowed with by its Creator. Democratic government is feasible among a nation like the Sikhs, or a great religious union like the Mohammedans, both of which in general deny and exclude caste ; but it is almost impossible to realize how, except through long periods of readjustment and dislocation, any form of democratic government can be created that shall measurably satisfy the antipathies deep and dangerous that caste distinctions create among the castes themselves, not to speak of the antipathies between them and the great unwashed, the 'once-born,' who are now free to avail themselves of the resources and opportunities of the whole modern world, citizens of the race, and who have in these last days become by a strange providence heirs to all things. These have great grievances to settle. In the great upward move that Christianity and the West have started in India, the brahminical and higher castes, bound to the Indian soil by religious and social considerations, are being worsted, and they know it. Their young men long to travel oversea, and can only do so at the expense of personal dignity, the performance of shameful rites, and the enduring of endless trouble. Caste usages cripple them hopelessly in the performance of the higher duties that necessarily fall to the heirs of an imperial destiny. India to-day as represented by the educated caste Hindus is the victim of a double mind. It would do great things, and fill a great place, stimulated by the knowledge and ideals that have come to it through the British race, but the price it will have to pay is a revolution within itself against itself, and not at all against the British raj : that raj is the only means at present in sight through which it can attain its aims. To rule India for the advantage of India first and last is the aim of all true British statesmanship, and the gain to England from the very self-denial that that ideal seems to imply will be incomparably greater, even in things material, than any other lesser purpose could ever be the means of achieving.

Caste tyranny, caste indifference to the outcastes, caste exclusiveness, these shackle India, crush India, prevent India from rising to her great calling among the nations. Young India will have to grapple with it; and meantime, in all attempts to gain through various forms of fancy class franchise power to affect provincial legislation and administration, it must give perfect guarantees by its unselfish attempts to raise the lot of the labouring classes that it places a supreme value on the common man. But when that *yogi* view (for it is the view of the 'emancipated' among India's devotees and saints of the ideal) of Indian men and women and children is universally adopted by the caste Hindu, caste will have vanished, and India will have fitted herself for her true place among the peoples—the foremost file. 'There will be no more ban,' and the bitterness of the dying young Indian patriot that gave rise to this article will have been deprived of its cause.

JAMES LEWIS.

NATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY IN WAR-TIME

1. *Short Studies on Great Subjects*. FROUDE. 1st. Series (especially the 'Science of History'). Longman. 1885.
2. *The Providential Order of the World*. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton. 1897.
3. *Studies in the History and Method of Science*. C. SINGER. 1917.

THE nearest parallel to the Paris conference of 1919 will be found in the seventeenth-century meetings of dukes, bishops, and other grand transparencies at Münster, not then a Prussian town. Those congresses resulted in the two treaties of Münster and Osnabrück, together constituting the so-called Peace of Westphalia; this, it is sometimes forgotten, not only ended the Thirty Years' War, but established the European State system as well as laid the foundations of religious liberty on the Continent. It made Switzerland an independent State and freed other subject races to work out their destiny as self-governed and sovereign peoples. As a reconstructive enterprise it was of wider scope and more comprehensive detail than the treaty of Ryswick fifty years afterwards, that of Utrecht in 1714, or that of Vienna in the next century.

During the present year the interval between the armistice and the conference was fertile in newspaper comments and conversations in high quarters, recalling by their balance of hope and fear the elders' chorus in a Greek play. Round the altar of Dionysus, one group no sooner silently retired than another came forward, with its antistrophe of the encouragement to be derived from some propitious omens, but always provided that there should be no provocation of the Nemesis, which, in our day, Macaulay conjured English statesmen to worship. So now since the end of last year the interchange of compliments, of moralities, of

sanguine anticipations, and of discreet reserves reached their climax when on December 13 Mr. Wilson became the first United States President to visit Europe during his official term, and opened his memorable talks with his European colleagues. M. Poincaré promptly appreciated the occasion and improved it by some suggestive remarks concerning the principles that his guest personified. America's chief officer of State was welcome because above all things he represented the philosophy which deduced universal laws from particular events, especially the great moral laws that formed the foundation of political life.

The word 'law' as used by the first magistrate of our nearest continental neighbour would have caused more pricking up of ears in the Victorian age than in our own neo-Georgian era. *The History of Civilization*, now generally forgotten or largely superseded, was then a living book, still considerably fluttering our historical, philosophic, and religious doves. Hitherto it had been thought or assumed that, as Froude put it, 'amid the conflicts of reason, emotion, conscience, and desire, spiritual forces alone operated. Cause and effect cease to be traceable when the connexion was liable to disturbance by a free volition, everywhere and of everything else might be predicated the practically universal sequence known as law. In the case of man, however, according to the orthodox convention, law ceased to be a fixed order which he had no course but to obey, and became a moral precept which he would disobey at his own peril.' That was the doctrine circumstantially challenged in the work which during the first half of the Victorian age stirred much controversy, and which by a title less comprehensive than its author had first designed was known as *The History of Civilization in England*. 'Man,' Buckle maintained, 'is not less subject to law than is nature, and necessarily acts from the impulse of outward circumstances upon his mental and bodily conditions at any given moment. It is a principle of his being to wish himself well.'

'Convince him that "Death is in the pot," by a law of his nature he will leave it alone.' And so throughout the entire field of mortal experience. Between 1857 and 1861 Buckle's great work made him the lion of drawing-rooms and clubs. He himself modestly described it as a mere natural growth like that of the oak from the acorn. The historian considered that his own improvement had followed the progress of his knowledge; his views became more comprehensive and clear as his work advanced. The undertaking unfortunately was not to be carried through. 'My book! My book!' were among the latest syllables articulated by the newest apostle of the hardest and straitest materialism as he lay dying in the oldest of Syrian cities, Damascus. The end had come within a year or two of the lecture at the Royal Institution in which, as his friend and critic, Froude, recalled it, the lecturer for more than an hour laid out his matter easily and pleasantly, as well as so fully that his posthumous volume omitted nothing essential to his theory. No doubt crossed his mind that the central facts of human progress, action and reaction, accurately observed and patiently studied, must lead every intelligence to conclusions identical with his own. The more he knew and thought, the deeper his conviction that everything which concerned mankind, arts, sciences, creeds, and constitutions, empires, their changes, rise, and fall, would arrange themselves into clear relation of cause and effect.

Buckle's views were not original, they had crossed the mind in the vaguest and most fragmentary shape of Greek thinkers, they formed a part of Auguste Comte's philosophy. Early in the nineteenth century they had suggested to Kant the notion of a cosmo-political history. The possibility of executing such a scheme rested, according to the German philosopher, on this fact: the human will is indeed free, but its manifestations in what men say or do are controlled by nature's universal laws as much as any other physical phenomena. Hence the practised observer

can trace from age to age a regular stream of tendency in the great succession of events. Thus, occurrences which taken separately and individually seem disconnected, confused, even fortuitous, viewed in their orderly succession, reveal themselves as the slow but continuous expression of human predispositions. To Kant, therefore, history seemed the narrative of individual and national volition, and the most instructive historian is he who refers each division and detail of his subject matter to the laws they illustrate. Uniformity may be found in the most capricious of mortal happenings. The yearly registers show that births, deaths, and marriages, of all things it might seem the most incalculable beforehand, proceed on principles as definite and ascertainable as that most fickle phase in our earthly environment, the weather. In like manner individuals and even nations, though ignorant of it while pursuing their own purposes, are unconsciously guided by a great natural agency towards an unseen end.

The Kantian scheme is presented with great fulness by the English interpreter of its author, De Quincey (Mason's edition, ix, p. 428). 'In the senseless current of human actions, there runs and by inquiry may be discovered a natural purpose, now producing a Kepler who brought the courses of the planets under determinate laws, now a Newton who explained those laws out of a universal ground in nature.' The Königsberg sage summarized his doctrines in a series of propositions which, if in some respects superseded by the innovations of the scientific historians of the nineteenth century, serve to show him as the direct descendant of the eighteenth-century thinker; while German philosophy and enlightenment themselves had a French parentage. Somewhat nearer to Buckle's own period a powerful impulse to the movement popularly identified with him was given by George Finlay, the historian of Greece. The central principles worked out in his book, almost a library in itself, suggested to many minds a scheme

and rationale of progress naturally leading up to the conclusions or assumptions put forth in *The History of Civilization*. 'Discover,' said Buckle, 'the true laws of human nature, and the first great step will have been taken towards acquainting people with their mistakes and enabling them to manage better for the future. As this inquiry is pursued we shall see the spiritual and moral effects of their physical surroundings upon the inhabitants of this planet.' Lord Beaconsfield saw the chief cause of Irish unrest less in an alien Church or an absentee aristocracy than in contiguity to a melancholy ocean. This was ethnology quite on the principles of Buckle, who, discussing the influences of geographical position, climate, air, soil, called the northern nations hardy and industrious because they must till the earth if they would eat its fruits and because the temperature is too low to make an idle life pleasant. It needed a mind much less acute than Froude's to detect the obvious exceptions to the rule that national character is only the result of national environment. In southern lands, according to Buckle, the earth is almost spontaneously productive; less food and fewer clothes are wanted, painful exertion can be dispensed with. The mere fact and consciousness of life are a delight, consequently laziness and indolence are the characteristics of southern climes. So much from one point of view. On the other hand, as Froude promptly replied, the most southern country of Europe, the present home of the languid Italian, 'formerly produced the sternest race of whom the human story contains a record.'

The influence of climate on temper and conduct had not been ignored by the encyclopaedic Cicero when he was the first to call Capua and Baiæ the twin capitals of enervating luxury. The moral effect of atmosphere and custom on a population formed the commonplace of mediaeval speculation. A father of medical science, an undoubtedly gifted and thoughtful man, Galen, engaged in a minute inquiry to show that the enchanting air breathed by its

inhabitants was the chief cause why an Asiatic town, Misnia, near his natal Pergamus, came to be called a second Corinth. Buckle indeed might have answered Froude's Italian criticism by pointing out not only that the climate of modern Italy has undergone great changes since the days of the Roman Republic, but that the degenerate Romans of the early empire, crying for food and amusement, were as a fact the moral ancestors of their latest descendants, although redeemed by rare potentialities of national and individual greatness.

Froude is more successful in dealing with another argument based on physical conditions. Buckle had said that Spaniards are proverbially superstitious because Spain is a country of earthquakes; on this Froude reminds us that earthquakes are nowhere so frequent as in Japan, where at the same time there is the most serene disbelief in any supernatural agency whatsoever. Finally he reminds us, 'If men grow into what they are by natural laws they cannot help being what they are; if that be so a good deal will have to be altered in our general view of human obligations and responsibilities.' From the point of view taken in this controversy it will be thought doubtful whether even yet history has fairly entered upon the scientific stage; as for the so-called political laws mentioned by the French and American Presidents the greatest writers on the constitutions of the most famous States have succeeded in formulating only a few, and these of by no means universal application. Those alone will be found universally binding which can be described as the moral edict of the providential order.

Neither the classical founders of political philosophy nor its mediaeval commentators have described the forms of government suitable to different communities; still less have they attempted to explain in what unvarying facts this fitness consists. At most they have given us suggestive or interesting sequences derived from personal experience

or well-balanced speculation. Beyond these few general truths, not all of them based on the general necessity of things, they have seldom gone. For those historic certainties, affecting individuals and States, we must, as will presently be seen, look elsewhere. Both as moral and political teacher the Greek founder of political science tells us comparatively little because he regarded ethics as merely a branch of politics. He had, however, closely watched in their actual working all the great civil constitutions of his time, he knew as much as could be known of their antecedents and of the people who had grown up under them. At the same time beneath the surface of things it was not his way to go. Aristotle, one of Plato's earliest pupils, never aspired to his master's heights, and began as a dialogue writer, though only on the topics of everyday life. From the first, however, questions like the mortality of the soul, the divine nature, and the operations of Providence, all of primary interest to the master, were comparatively indifferent to the disciple. At the same time the more serious aspect of the political laws hinted at by one at least if not both of the two Presidents, largely ignored by Aristotle, were set forth with much fullness by Plato, who discusses forms of government exclusively as affecting the intellectual and moral character of leading individuals. *Corruptio optimi pessima*. Under the rule of the many, in other words in a democracy, the noblest aptitudes are debased. Who by nature so eminently adapted to the loftiest and purest tasks of philosophy as the divinely gifted Alcibiades; yet who, in the tumult of mean ambitions and the clash of self-seeking rivalries, so hopelessly fallen from the high estate to which he had seemed destined? To save a party and ruin a nation was the aim epigrammatically ascribed by Disraeli to one of his smaller characters. The Athenian paragon of mental perfections, statesmanlike parts, and personal profligacy, achieved the latter of these two ends without attempting the former. The tutor of

Alexander the Great, in his maxims about States and their vicissitudes, dispenses the results of his world-wide observations without any thought of pointing morals. The nature, the origin, and progress of revolutions—their trivial causes, their supreme issues—this subject is followed by shrewd commonplaces concerning the degrees by which bureaucracies and oligarchies drift into administrations based on the power of numbers; while those again paved the way to the State machine's capture by a single man, who, though called a tyrant, often proved, as Byron sung of Miltiades, 'Freedom's best and truest friend.'

Something of that sort has been the experience of most ages and most countries since Aristotle's day. The absence of a 'free and independent' electorate from the ancient republics of a middle class and the basis of slavery on which the whole social system rested prevents much instructive comparison of the old classical communities with those of modern times. The Greek philosopher's deductions from what he had himself seen, just cited, have been verified by the unbroken experience of later times. Outside serious treatises Machiavelli and other masters of mediaeval statecraft have bequeathed us not so much political generalizations seasonable for all times and places as shrewd and sagacious comments on the local governments of their day.¹ Knowledge of artistic rules for pen or brush never made a great poet or painter. No one ever became a statesman from the study of political precedents, or found in them sure guides for his own course. Not the less certain, however, is it that history of all kinds illustrates the operation of a moral order, to disregard which means ruin. Thus the third head of the German empire, the second William of Hohenzollern, only exemplifies in his miscarriage

¹ Such is the saying that in a republic as compared with a dukedom though no fewer men may be taken to prison more come out. As for the lax morality charged against Machiavelli's writings, he always said he had been misunderstood, and that his cynical precepts were a form of satire, like Defoe's *Short Way with Dissenters*.

the conclusion to be drawn from the universal and immutable warning of all ages and countries—that the Almighty has not more surely ‘fixed His canon ’gainst self-slaughter’ than He has prohibited any State of man from becoming a world power. On that point history may be interrogated. In the sixth century B.C., the founder of the Persian empire, Cyrus, extended his sway from the Euphrates to the Aegean. He thus surpassed the previous conquerors of all other nations in the range and revenue of his triumphs. A luckless ambition impelled him to still remoter regions of the far East. A wanton invasion of the fierce and ubiquitous Scythians provoked more than repulse by the tribal queen Tomyris, who, according to the familiar story, cut off his head and threw it into a bag steeped in human gore with the words, ‘Sate yourself with your fellow-creatures’ blood!’ The ambition that proved fatal to the Persian empire’s founder brought a larger overthrow upon his most famous successor, Xerxes, half a century later. In 490 B.C. the Greek victory at Marathon saved the Western world from being orientalized. A little more than seventy years afterwards the Athenians, in their attempt to monopolize European power and civilization, came to their ruin at Syracuse.

The centuries come and go, the lords of human kind pass by—Alexander of Macedon, Caius Julius Cæsar, followed by those who in our own era shared their ambition and fate. The first and greatest of the group, apart from the words concerning him and opening the book of Maccabees, is the chief link that unites pagan with Christian times and history, if for no other reason than that the cities built served to spread throughout the world the religion of the New Testament during the thirteen years between the conversion of Constantine and the Council of Nicaea. This foremost among the world’s heroes, in his personal character and conduct, as in his achievements, excelled every known rival. Untouched by the common vices of conquerors, he yielded indeed to the passions of intemperance and pride, but

crowned his chastity, self-denial, and greatness of soul with all the domestic virtues, and above all with the general moderation whose moral and intellectual beauty he had learned from his tutor Aristotle.

'Twas near the famed Hydaspes's banks
 Where flourished once the great king Porus,
 Lord Gough incensed the British ranks,
 And the Sikh artillery spoke in chorus.
 The troops were tired, the Khalsa fired,
 And they're the lads that seldom bungle.
 Quoth Gough at the noise : ' Fix bayonets, boys,
 And drive those blackguards out of the jungle.'
 Sabres drawn, bayonets fixed,
 Fight where fought brave Alexander,
 Paddy Gough's a cross betwixt
 A bulldog and a salamander.

The old lyric, with a ring of battle in it through each verse, which thrilled our grandparents and will bear quotation now because it visualizes for us as nothing else could the ubiquitous grandeur of the Alexandrian triumphs, and so adds impressiveness to his self-caused fall. The entreaties of friends and the warnings of prophets had no effect upon the conviction of his own invincibility.

To those who follow his story the conduct ending in his overthrow reads like a presage of the circumstances attending his Roman rival's fall two hundred years afterwards. His Oriental conquests encouraged dreams of a western empire stretching from the Euxine to the Atlantic, even to any lands that might lie beyond. Before going westward he would visit the cities in the alluvial plains of Mesopotamia. These, had he not been deaf to all warnings, would have formed his goal ; for the prophets and prodigies encountered on his march combined to tell him that further advance meant disaster or death or both. 'Refrain,' said his Chaldean counsellors, 'from entering Babylon.' Cassandra herself, fresh from the fall of Troy, would not have held him back ; he fumed and fretted till his voyage on the stately stream should begin. While he awaited the

ship that was to carry him down the river to the great city, a gust of wind blew his tiara from off his head to the tombs of the old kings. Hurrying to recover it, he found on his return a stranger obstinately settled in the royal chair. Another stranger, still more importunate and irresistible, now began to lay his icy fingers upon the conqueror. Alexander had ordered an expert survey of the Arabian and Caspian coasts, to be conducted during his own campaign towards the setting sun. A hand grasp and a meaning look to those about him in his Babylonian sick-room showed some consciousness to the last. Demosthenes characteristically refused to believe it was all over, saying that were the report true the whole earth would have smelt of his corpse. One hundred and fifty years after Alexander, the greatest military genius who ever raised himself against classical Rome, Hannibal, while planning conquests as world-wide as Alexander's, only evaded surrender to his enemies by suicide. Plutarch himself has penned no parallel so dramatic and suggestively stimulating as the passage in which Livy contrasts the Macedonian conqueror with the strategists and statesmen who made the seven-hilled city the mistress of the world, nor engaged in a single campaign whence they did not come out victors. The Roman anti-type of the Macedonian conqueror emulated more closely than any other one man his predecessor's achievements in the arts of peace as well as of war. As an orator Julius Cæsar eclipsed his contemporaries with the single exception of Cicero, and in pure literature he ranks with Sallust and Tacitus; he knew more than most highly educated Romans of Greek philosophy. With Europe at his feet, he had imbibed the spirit of the advice which if followed would have dissuaded Athens from the bid for universal sway in the disastrous Sicilian expedition. So Bismarck's similar counsel if obeyed might have kept William II still on his throne. It was not enough for the first and greatest of the Caesars to 'Bestride the narrow world like a Colossus'; it remained

for him to colour all varieties of States and civilizations with the culture, with the ideas, and with the religion, for which he cared nothing, of his native city. The elation of success and of self-love prompted him to transfer the basis of the colossal empire he had formed from the municipal institutions of a single city to a polity whose central idea was a personification of himself. The statesmen and soldiers, coming after this greatest of Roman empire-builders, aimed not only at the illimitable extension of their arms but the extirpation of all other racial thought and aspirations. The inevitable sequel came in just a generation after his death. The Teutonic nationality and spirit found their champion in the man to whom mediaeval Germany rendered divine honours, the founder of the great Hermann family, otherwise Arminius. The German defeat of Varus and his three legions for ever confined the Romans to the western side of the Rhine, and preserved a regenerating element in modern Europe safe and free (Thomas Arnold). This story of A.D. 9 is still the tale of to-day.

Arnold's two next 'decisive battles' were those which, separated by 281 years, finally destroyed the two movements against nationality and Christianity. The great war of our own day is held by some strategists, German as well as English, to have brought the Allies the promise of ultimate victory after their success on the Marne, retrieving the retreat from Mons. The basin of that river witnessed in the fifth century the overthrow of the pagan general and his hosts, whom in 1914 the third German Emperor boasted he had taken for his model. Subsequently to this one of the Berlin Court chaplains, speaking for his imperial master, had intimated that without superseding the Christian Deity the national pantheon might very well in war-time include the good old German god, Thor. To that celestial leader Attila trusted for universal dominion. 451 A.D. had been chosen by the pagan prophets of many generations as the death year of Christianity and its Roman stronghold.

For that achievement Attila was predestined. The battleground chosen by the Hun chief was to be the site of his own future palace and of a temple to the unseen powers under whose protection he fought. The omens to which he trusted were the prayers of those worshipping any god not recognized on the Tiber. On one side or other all the races ever in contact with Rome were represented in the conflict on the Catalaunian plain. The Italian general Aetius, in this expiring effort of the empire, had as his chief ally Theodoric, the Visi-Gothic king, whose death at any cost had been vowed by the leader of the Hunnish myriads, whose name, modernized into Etzel, afterwards headed the list of Hungarian kings, and was invoked by William II as that of his model and demi-god.

As a fact the twentieth-century Kaiser has shown his resemblance less to the historic Hun chief than to the description of him in early German romance, where he figures as a bombastic braggart, promising for dower to a lady whose hand he seeks, not only the lands but the heads of thirty kings. The real Attila, with a good deal, no doubt, of the brutality of his time, combined some respect for his word as well as some consideration for chastity in women and weakness in men. The details of the conflict have a special interest to-day, less because they reveal the overwhelming odds combined against the Christian allies than for two other reasons; first they show that the Huns had much in their favour besides numbers. The motley forces gathered under the Roman flag lacked unity alike of purpose and control. Their leader, Aetius, did not really desire his victory to be too complete lest the allies who had helped him should become his rivals. On the other hand Attila and his infidels were kept together by a common bond of unbelief; while the conversion to Christianity of officers, rank and file ranged against him had been largely superficial and imperfect. All this only makes the Châlons victory more surprising; it also does not lack some analogy to the

internal condition of the opposing armies in the twentieth-century struggle. Attila was allowed to escape with a claim to success. Eventually he met an end, recalling at some points that of Antiochus Epiphanes in 187 B.C.

A little more than three centuries passed before another bid for a sovereignty co-extensive with the surface of our planet. The eighth century had opened with the spread of the Mohammedan Arab power from the Golden Horn to the Pillars of Hercules. The conquest of the Franks and of the western isles alone remained to convert the habitable globe from the Cross to the Crescent. Abderrahman, the Saracenic general, had outraged and was bent on destroying the holy shrine at Tours. The Frankish chief, a man of war from his youth, in the words of the old chronicle, 'set himself and his soldiery, standing firm as a wall and impenetrable as a zone of ice, utterly to slay the Arabs with the edge of the sword.' 'For nearly seven days they strove intensely.' In Charles Martel's victory the Christian casualties were only 1,007, compared with the Arab loss of 375,000. The disparity could only be explained by the monkish chronicler as a special intervention of Providence. The Moslems not only never recovered from this blow, but made no serious attempt at a rally. Mohammedanism thus never established itself beyond the Pyrenees. Charles Martel's descendants prepared the ground for the new Christian neo-Roman empire of the West which Charlemagne founded and which served him to end the racial and religious anarchy of mediaeval Europe.

Heroes are much the same, the point's agreed,
From Macedonia's madman to the Swede.

Never did even Pope perpetrate a more egregious misdescription than that of incomparably the greatest, most far-seeing, and sagacious of Greek empire builders. Swedish Charles, appealed to by Samuel Johnson in his noblest poem, was not the first among the subsequent militarists whom the 'Macedonian Madman' inspired with a resolution to make

himself the master of our planet. The list of conquerors whom the early Middle Ages sent forth from the heart of Asia to enslave their fellow creatures of every race and colour is headed by Tamerlane. This mongrel prince began by subduing all his enemies, crushing all his rivals, and surrounding his capital, Samarkand, in a manner prophetic of the German ideal, with a ring of tributary cities and States. This for a beginning; China was next to be possessed, and then Europe, but the attempt on the Celestial Empire found him his grave (1405). These instances may close with Swedish Charles meditating triumphs beyond the Dover straits and killed by a stray shot at the siege of Fredrickshald. Taken together they are met with no contradictory experience. They may therefore claim a place among those laws about which the American and French Presidents interchanged remarks and which are inferentially included among the results to be reached by Mr. C. Singer's ingeniously applied methods. Closely allied with the prohibition of world power is the eternity of the moral order connecting sin and cruelty with punishment, and thus expressed by J. A. Froude.

'The one certain lesson of the past is that for every false word, unrighteous deed, cruelty, oppression, for lust or vanity, the price has to be paid at last, not always by the chief offenders but paid by somebody.' Such, a hundred years ago, was the experience of the great Napoleon. Is not the same moral pointed by the exile of Amerongen? Listen to Dr. Bruce in *The Providential Order* (p. 183), who recalls Volney on the eve of the French Revolution visiting Palmyra, to see in its ruins the emblem of what had befallen the ancient historical nations of the East. Froude was the son of an archdeacon, Matthew Arnold of a schoolmaster. Both soon outgrew the orthodox prejudices in which they were reared. Both in their maturer years reaffirmed with fresh conviction the warnings derived from the historical reading of their youth. 'Down they come, one after another;

Assyria falls, Babylon, Greece, Rome.' 'They all fall for want of conduct, for want of righteousness' (*Literature and Dogma*, p. 353).

The Peace of Westphalia was the signal for prayerful thanksgiving in every serious household on the close of a war that established Protestant freedom throughout Europe. The Peace of Utrecht was celebrated by a stately service at St. Paul's, whither the wealth, rank, and fashion of England followed the Court; on the same or on the next evening Addison's *Cato* was played at the theatre, with Booth in the leading part. On the fall of the curtain Bolingbroke summoned the actor to the stage box; in full sight of the whole crowded theatre the statesman presented the player with a purse containing fifty golden guineas; it was, he said, but a poor reward for the service he had done the State in illustrating with such splendid effect the protest of liberty against a perpetual military dictatorship. The reference of course was to the Duke of Marlborough, who through the combined efforts of Bolingbroke and the pen of Swift had been made a synonym for Whig arrogance and mismanagement. The final phase of the twentieth-century war has revealed a national temper very different from that accompanying the re-establishment of peace after John Churchill's final triumph three years more than two centuries from this present writing. Then nothing in the nature of religious conviction was produced by the stirring or solemn events of the time. The semi-heathenism of the period remained unbroken till the Methodist revival during the eighteenth century. Now the fourth anniversary of our world struggle was signalized not only by perhaps the most impressive service ever held in St. Paul's, but by the universal prevalence of an earnest and prayerful temper to which all religious communions in an equal degree contributed, and was followed by successes almost despaired of as well uniting the entire country in the belief that the Supreme Ruler of the world is a God who answers prayer.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCES IN MODERN ENGLISH LITERATURE

IT was said by Leslie Stephen, when dealing with the 'History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century,' that 'the character of an imaginative literature is a function of many forces.' He went on to show that 'it depends not only upon the current philosophy,' but upon the social conditions of the age, while it remains true 'that remarkable analogies may be traced between the speculative and the imaginative literature.' I have, in this paper, sought to show these speculative or philosophical influences at work in Literature, and that not in a single age alone. Only a selective, not an exhaustive, enumeration of such influences can be made within the limits of a single paper, but even this may show the character of the philosophical influences so often exercised.

I am unable to accept in its entirety the position of Mr. Yeats that 'whatever of philosophy has been made poetry is alone permanent,' for, while much of the best in philosophy has found permanence in poetry, there is a great deal in philosophy which will assuredly abide without such poetic transfiguration, whether that fact be regarded as gratifying or not. Literature has no need to deny philosophy an existence in its own right. True, philosophy has too often been all compact of mere dialectics, but, for all that, not even the beauty, the joy, and the goodness of poetry can absolve philosophy from search into the deepest truth, in the cold, grey light of reason. Philosophy is system: poetry is inspired emotion. But there is no need to separate *Dichtung* from *Wahrheit*. Poetry has no small dower of profit, interest, and power to offer philosophy, without seeking to replace it. Not the least of its gifts is

that it restores immediacy to philosophy. As I have said elsewhere, 'disparate as poetic and philosophic activities are seen to be, there is no need to wish the world's impoverishment by their blending or fusion, were such a thing possible.' Literature and philosophy have far more in common, both in method and in quest, than is often thought; but, whereas to philosophy, the matter is of primary importance, the form—expression ideally beautiful—is never, to poetry, a secondary concern. For, as Longinus said, 'There is a marvellous attraction and enthralling charm in appropriate and striking words.' Form is essential to literature.

My first example is Coleridge, in whom philosophical influences were many and marked. He was early influenced by the mysticism of Plotinus, and by the physical psychology of Hartley, of which latter he at length grew critical. His philosophy is purely transcendental, and does not take an English type; his mind drew its most essential nourishment from Germany; his philosophy is a 'Schellingism,' though Schiller and Kant earlier influenced him. He was enthusiastic about Kant, but not neglectful of polemics directed against Kant. He had affinities with Jacobi also. It was under the influence of Kant that Coleridge based Christianity on reason, and not on any external authority; under his influence, too, that he applied this principle of reason to the laws of morality, holding to duty for its own sake, and against our inclinations. But it must be said that Coleridge's speculations and his daily practice were far apart. Of Herder, he was severely critical, of Lessing frankly admiring. The demonstration of the mystical system of Schelling, in all its depth, which he hoped to give, was never forthcoming. As things are, he has recast the ideas of Schelling, infusing into them new elements. He had worked on Spinoza and the mystics up to Kant, and thence to Schelling. In spite of all his philosophical indebtedness, Coleridge did not fail to maintain his own specu-

lative power and independence. In a very non-English way, indeed, he gave up his life to thought as an end in itself, without regard to practical considerations. Professor Dowden, in his *Studies in Literature* (p. 4), remarked that 'to understand Coleridge is fast becoming more difficult than to understand Hume,' and the words are more true to-day than when he wrote them; but loss must accrue to the generation that will not take the trouble to understand so great a poet as the author of the 'Ancient Mariner' and 'Christabel.' Of him Carlyle was able, in his *Life of Sterling*, to say that he was 'a sublime man,' 'a king of men,' who, spite of all defects of character, 'alone in those dark days had saved his crown of spiritual manhood.' Not less striking were the testimonies to his genius of Hazlitt, De Quincey, and Wordsworth. This was he who, in his 'Ode on Dejection,' said:—

O pure of heart! thou need'st not ask of me
What this strong music in the soul may be!

Turn we now to Shelley. He also was transcendental, and he advanced from materialistic views to idealism. Shelley was early influenced not only by Lucretius, Locke, and Hume, but by the French philosopher, Condorcet, with his notions of human perfectibility and the endless progress of the race. Plato and Plotinus among the ancients, Kant and Spinoza among the moderns, engaged, later, Shelley's thought and speculation. The Platonic doctrine of ideas frequently affected his later poems, 'Adonais' for example. It was the spell of this doctrine that led Shelley's idealism to view the Spirit of Love and Beauty as the Spirit of the universe—the 'Light whose smile kindles the universe,' the 'Beauty in which all things work and move,'—and this vision it was that found highest embodiment in 'Prometheus Unbound.' Shelley's world is made up, no doubt, too largely of personified abstraction, but it is exquisitely beautiful withal. Moreover, the statement in which he said, 'I had rather be damned with Plato, &c.,'

shows that the world of goodness and truth had, for him, more reality than some capable but not over-generous critics have been willing to allow. We can surely apply to himself the lines :—

From the contagion of the world's slow stain
He is secure, and now can never mourn
A heart grown cold, a head grown grey in vain.

We speak of the intangibility of his poetry, his insubstantiality of theme, but, though he was of imagination all compact, we may not forget that Nature, with which he had made himself so marvellously one, had for him love as its active principle. He had 'Love from its awful throne of patient power' even in his revolutionary idea of progress. Shelley's stanza, beginning :—

The One remains, tho' many change and pass ;
Heaven's light for ever shines ; earth's shadows fly,

sounds like a far-off echo of Plato and Plotinus. To the Platonist—as to Plato (in the *Timaeus*)—Time is the moving image of Eternity ; to him, Nature is the encasement of spirit. If Platonism as fine, or finer, is found in Wordsworth, it is there as indigenous to his soul, rather than derived from the study of ancient philosophy. While Wordsworth's notion of the pre-existence of the soul was Platonic, he made life a 'forgetting' of that ideal, whereas Plato made man's life a working towards it. So much of the philosophic mind belonged by nature to Wordsworth that no one has more finely shown how exquisitely fitted to each other are mind and the external world. Said he,

The moving accident is not my trade,

and truly so ; for his concern has been with the essence of life, not its passing shows or accidents. He lived as in the passage beginning :—

With heart as calm as lakes that sleep,
In frosty moonlight glistening, &c.

It may be added that when Spenser, so much earlier than Shelley and Wordsworth, wrote his 'Hymn of Heavenly

Love' and his 'Hymn of Heavenly Beauty,' the latter was composed under the conscious inspiration of Plato.

I turn next to Tennyson, in whose work philosophical influences, early and late, are far from wanting. Not to speak of his Greek poems, there is the classic 'Lucretius,' of which, as Stopford Brooke has rightly remarked, the philosophy is 'a Greek philosophy, but Lucretius has made it Roman in temper.' Or we may take the close of 'In Memoriam,' where the poet speaks of 'One God, one law, one element, &c.'; whether consciously or not there could not be a more explicit enunciation of Aristotle's four grounds or causes of existence than to speak of God as Life, Law, Element, and End (see Arist. *Metaphysics*, Bk. xi, ch. 7; *Physics*, Bks. i and ii; *Posterior Analytics*, Bk. ii, ch. 11). The only difference is that Tennyson goes beyond Aristotle, and adds to his conception of Deity the basal characteristic of Love—'That God which ever lives and loves.' The influence of Aristotle is again clearly seen in the passage of the same poem which runs:—

Eternal form shall still divide
The eternal soul from all beside,
And I shall know him when we meet.

This is the Aristotelian doctrine of the eternity of forms. (See Arist. *Metaphysics*, Bk. vi, ch. 8.) There are other, though less marked, traces of the influence of early philosophy in Tennyson. Later philosophical influences, especially that of Hegel, have laid deep impress on his work. This was to be expected in a poet who espoused an idealistic philosophy, inveighed against agnosticism and materialism, and strongly stood for the Divine immanence in Nature and in man. His lofty idealism took God at once for root of being, and roof and crown of things. His thought, of course, was deeply affected by influences not always purely philosophical, sometimes more strictly religious; among these were Maurice, Coleridge, Goethe, Carlyle, and Wordsworth. Though he had not the cosmopolitan note of

Browning, yet these helped him restore 'in richer beauty the crumbling fragments of past philosophy,' especially religious philosophy. Speculatively, the pre-existence of the soul had an attraction for Tennyson, though he does not clearly develop his view: that speculation did not come to him from the great idealistic philosophies of the modern period, it belonged to a long line of distinguished thinkers anterior to them. Again, if Tennyson is spokesman of 'The Higher Pantheism,' it is a pantheism which is consistent with, and is careful to conserve, 'The Human Cry' for personality in its Deity, hence his sublime trinity of thought—

Infinite Ideality !
Immeasurable Reality !
Infinite Personality !

As a theistic idealist, I am myself wary of forms of pantheism, but I can very well abide the warmth and glow of a poet who sings :—

We feel we are nothing—for all is Thou and in Thee ;
We feel we are something—that also has come from Thee ;
We feel we are nothing—but Thou wilt help us to be.

One can also do very well with that epitomized philosophy of freedom in 'De Profundis,' which is embodied in the declaration of :—

This main miracle, that thou'art thou,
With power on thine own act and on the world.

Tennyson's views on immortality are, at times, near of kin to those of Fichte, but on these I do not now dwell. I note rather that when we turn to such a poem as 'The Ancient Sage,' the influence of Kant is clear, nor is that of Hegel wanting. But philosophical influences are not surprising in one who was an original member of The Metaphysical Society, and whose connexion with it, indeed, largely gave it the prominence into which it has since come. I cannot go into all parts of his work which are directly philosophical, but perhaps I have said enough to indicate the presence

and character of the philosophical influences at work in his case.

I next bring forward Browning. A poet who is himself so pre-eminently psychological, and occasionally so metaphysical, as Browning, could not be innocent of susceptibility to philosophical influences. Browning is so much master of himself, however, that these are neither so strong nor so easily traceable as in most of the instances now given. Mrs. Sutherland Orr, in *Life and Letters of Robert Browning* (p. 8), tells us that Browning 'was emphatic in his assurance that he knew neither the German philosophers nor their reflection in Coleridge, who would have seemed a likely medium between them and him.' I do not now propose to speculate on philosophical influences that may be supposed present in particular poems. I only mean to note some references which suggest that philosophical influences were not absent from his great range of reading, though we may not know how far these references adequately represent the measure of such influences. In Aristophanes' *Apology* there is mention of the philosopher Protagoras; in *Old Pictures in Florence*, of Zeno, the founder of Stoicism; the names of the famous Arabian philosophers, Avicenna and Averroës, occur in 'Paracelsus'; the *Summa* of Aquinas is significantly alluded to in 'The Ring and the Book,' wherein the Pope suitably speaks of God in Aristotelian strain; and the mystical philosopher, Jacob Boehme, is referred to in 'Transcendentalism.' Without suggesting for Browning a technical interest in Plato, one finds Neoplatonic influences markedly present in 'Paracelsus.' In 'Paracelsus,' too—but not there alone—Browning has powerfully set forth the philosophical idea of evolution. Fénelon—who, let me say, is a more considerable philosopher than is generally understood, besides being a literary critic of a high order—receives mention in 'The Ring and the Book.' To Rousseau, from whose primitivism and Romanticism both literature and philosophy have, in my

judgement, suffered very seriously, there is allusion in Browning's philosophical poem, 'La Saisiaz'; to Fichte and Schelling, references in 'Bishop Blougram's Apology'; and a mention of Comte in 'Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau.' Now, most of the philosophic references which I have given are colourless and occasional in character; they can hardly be taken to modify, to any appreciable extent, Browning's disclaimer of first-hand study of the great German philosophic systems. Nevertheless, Browning's philosophic power and spirit are often very remarkable, and from philosophic monologues he does not at all shrink. His theism—neither an unphilosophical nor un-vital one—is a marked feature of his work, bearing signs of reflection scarcely to be thought of without philosophical influences behind. One hardly thinks of Browning as a Berkeleyan idealist, but nothing is more real to him than the God of Power. To Browning's intuition, this God is also God of Love.

He glows above
With scarce an intervention, presses close
And palpitatingly, His soul o'er ours.

Browning makes striking use of the categories of the infinite and the finite—as do the philosophers—and he finds the former realized in the latter; and in his attribution of infinity to God and the soul he evinces not a little of the philosopher's thirst for absoluteness, albeit he is a poet, not a speculative thinker. 'All poetry,' he wrote to Ruskin, 'is the problem of putting the infinite into the finite.' These insistences, consciously or not, are quite in the manner of Hegel. In these and other ways he is a striking proof of the philosophical influences at work in literature, not, as in the other instances adduced in this paper, because of personal study and direct influence, so much as because the philosophical ideas and conceptions had entered into the thought of his time, which he had made his own, and transmuted to his own great purposes and ends, the more so that his own strength lay on the ideational side.

My last English example is Walter Pater. In him philosophical influences are conspicuous—those of Heraclitus, Plato, and Epicurus especially. He found the heart of Plato's doctrine in his conception of ideas, but his interpretation of Plato in the interest of beauty rather than truth has been severely criticized. Epicureanism he preferred to the Stoic creed, and the flux of the former is in some ways better than the naturalistic pantheism of the latter—I mean, perhaps nearer the kingdom of heaven. But Pater's aestheticism does not here lead up to any high religious result. His literary epicureanism has a thinner coating of humanism than that of Sainte-Beuve. Pater has, in phraseology of his own, 'that subtle and delicate sweetness which belongs to a refined and comely decadence.' His own philosophy was, in substance, only the Goethean ideal of culture—the training of body and mind, the awakening of the senses, the making life itself an art. The hedonistic flavour of many of his utterances cannot be escaped. To burn with a hard, gem-like flame, to maintain this ecstasy, meant for him success in life. An ideal not without value for our times, but one that calls for a right sense of values, to keep it from inverting things. Truth in the inward parts is its vital need and sure corrective.

Other English examples I must deny myself. European literature will be dealt with in another paper.

JAMES LINDSAY.

AFRICA IN THE WORLD-SETTLEMENT

The German Colonial Empire. By P. GIORDANI. (Bell.)

The German Colonies. By Sir H. CLIFFORD. (Murray.)

Papers Relating to German Atrocities and Breaches of the Rules of War in Africa. (Cd. 8806.)

The Wishes of the Natives of the German Colonies as to their Future Government. (Cd. 9210.)

Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi. (Natesan, Madras.)

The Expansion of Europe. By RAMSAY MUIR. (Constable.)

I

SINCE Africa is the most backward of continents, posterity is likely to judge the sensitiveness of the world-conscience of our day by the spirit in which the Paris Conference discusses and disposes of the African question. Africans, with few exceptions, are incapable of taking a long-range view of their own or other people's affairs—of protecting themselves or their interests. They can, as a rule, be persuaded to sign away their heritage for next to nothing. The bulk of the land that belongs to them is rich in potentiality. Perhaps nowhere else is the soil so generous in yielding tropical products—products for which the world is clamouring—as in most parts of the Dark Continent. The temptation to exploit the land and the people is, therefore, not easy to overcome, and the measure in which the great Powers succeed in resisting that temptation, and the spirit in which they undertake to educate the Africans to stand by themselves, will indicate the standard of moral greatness and the spiritual development reached by those Powers.

The fate that has befallen Germany must serve the world as a warning. From her humiliating position she to-day surveys her former African possessions, which she exploited with a barbarity that exceeded the worst enormities committed by other nations. Even when statements regarding

German savagery in Africa are heavily discounted there still remains a residuum that condemns Germany as a monster. In Togoland, the Kamaroons, East Africa, and South-West Africa she brazenly hoodwinked the African chiefs, mercilessly plundered the African tribesmen, drove masses of labourers at the point of the bayonet, and whenever the Africans showed any sign of resisting the German will, subjected them to torture and even to death.

As Sir Hugh Clifford, Governor of the Gold Coast, writes in his *German Colonies*, in Lome, the capital of Togoland, 'it was a common practice for a German trader to inform the nearest Government officer that such-and-such a native had insulted him, and this sufficed, without any further inquiry or trial, to cause the individual named to be awarded five-and-twenty lashes.' Whatever the niceties of expressions used in edicts sent out from Berlin, 'in practice almost every German official, from men of the rank of a non-commissioned officer upward, had authority to cause any native to be awarded twenty-five lashes whenever, in his opinion, he had deserved correction.' Flogging was administered by 'a formidable whip fashioned from three interwoven strands of stout hempen rope,' which the British, upon entering Lome, 'found forming an apparently essential part of the furniture of all bungalows inhabited by German officials and of certain of their offices,' while supplies were found 'in neatly trussed bundles of ten to the packet,' in the local public works department ready for issue. No wonder that the Germans were known in Africa as the 'twenty-fivers.'

Sir Hugh Clifford points out that the decrees sent out from Berlin were 'silent as to any form of trial being a necessary preliminary to punishment,' and made 'no provision for evidence being taken and committed to writing.' The German Colonial Government 'rigidly excluded the public from its law courts and caused all cases to be heard *in camera*, when formal trial was not altogether

dispensed with.' Even in serious circumstances legal process 'was not regarded as in any way essential where a native subject of the Fatherland was concerned.'

The highest German officials, 'not excluding Governors, Chief Justices, and the like, saw nothing shameful in the almost open practice of concubinage.' In October, 1913, Grand Duke Adolph Friederich of Mecklenburg, Governor of Togoland, issued 'a law forbidding natives to assume or make use of German patronymics,' but he took no action to stop the system of concubinage, although 'in West Africa . . . succession is traced through the mother, and native law expressly excludes a white man's bastard from the enjoyment of certain tribal privileges.'

In South-West Africa, the Germans outdid themselves in barbarity. Whereas when they occupied that country a generation ago 'the native population was estimated to number between 750,000 and 1,000,000 souls,' by 1914 it had 'dwindled to about 200,000—in itself a sufficiently blistering comment upon German colonial methods.' Such extermination was brought about by driving the Hereros and Damaras, who resisted German attempts to rob them of their sacred herds, into the waterless wilderness, where many of them 'were followed up and slaughtered with every circumstance of atrocity as they lay dying of thirst.'

II

The German reign of rape and rapine in Africa began but a generation ago. It is true that a German outpost was established at three points along the Gold Coast towards the end of the seventeenth century, under Frederick William, the great Elector. But before he died this first experiment in colonization had failed. The second German attempt at colonization did not begin until after the victory over France in 1870-71. The pan-Germans, flushed with their military triumphs over Denmark, Austria, and France, and with the prosperity that the industrial era

had ushered in, began to look about for places where they could plant the German civilization and surplus population. They felt that without colonies Germany could never become a world-power.

Prince Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor, did not believe that his people would ever possess a fleet like that of France, nor that they could or would colonize. He had an idea that while the attention of other European Powers was absorbed by their African and other colonies, he could concentrate his mind upon Europe and gain far greater advantages for the Fatherland than patches of African jungle. But in spite of his opposition the colonial sentiment grew, and shortly afterwards the Iron Chancellor had to yield.

Franz Adolf Luderitz, a wealthy merchant of Bremen, settled in South-West Africa early in 1882. The German Government inquired from the British Government if they intended to extend their protectorate over that part of Africa, and upon receiving an evasive reply from Lord Granville, then Foreign Secretary, cut the Gordian knot by authorizing their agent at the Cape to inform the colonial authorities there that 'Herr Luderitz and his establishments' were 'under the Imperial Protectorate.' Herr Luderitz's establishments constituted the territories of Angra Pequena, north of the Orange river. A few months later Germany extended her occupation. Towards the end of the same year Britain recognized South-West Africa (west of 20° of longitude and to the 22nd degree of latitude to the south) as a sphere of German influence. Dr. Gustaf Nachtgall, a German explorer, entered into a treaty with the King of Togoland on July 5, 1884, establishing a German protectorate over Togoland, and nine days later he was responsible for planting the German flag in the Kamaroon. The German protectorate over East Africa was established on February 27, 1885, through the instrumentality of Dr. Karl Peters, who had for years carried on a vigorous propa-

ganda in the Fatherland to infuse the colonial spirit into the German population. Thus Germany became an African Power in less than a lustrum.

The Reichstag did not take kindly to this colonial activity, but its opposition was ignored. In 1884 Bismarck made his famous statement to that body, in which, after expressing his dislike of colonial expansion, he gave the cue to the German expansionists that if they took the trouble to stake out claims and demanded protection, the Imperial Government would exert itself to safeguard the interests that their enterprise created in colonies which would offer a natural outlet for the overflow of the German population.

The feverish, relentless energy with which the Germans carved an empire in Africa (and in the Pacific) in the eighties of the last century, of which Signor Giordani gives an interesting and reliable account, surprised the other Powers, which had built up their colonies and protectorates through a long and laborious process. They might have protested on the plea of priority of claim, based, perhaps, on trade relations with Africans inhabiting the territories grabbed by Germany. But they did not challenge Germany, probably because they felt that they already had enough and to spare of the surface of the earth, or that bits of African jungle were not worth quarrelling over. Just then a periodic wave of anti-colonial feeling was sweeping over Western European democracy. Spokes were, of course, put into the German wheel. For instance, attempts were made to keep the Germans from acquiring a free harbour in East Africa, but they did not amount to very much. On the whole, Professor Ramsay Muir is right in claiming in his valuable work, *The Expansion of Europe*: 'Although the protectionist policy of Germany threatened to eradicate all rival interests, no serious difficulties were raised; the British Prime Minister publicly declared that if Germany wished to acquire colonies, her co-operation in the work of civilization would be welcome.'

III

Even now, after almost five years of bitter struggle, few Britons have an adequate idea of the size and potentiality of the German African empire. It exceeded 1,000,000 square miles in area. It was capable of yielding, in ever increasing quantities, a large variety of valuable products, including rubber, cotton, sisal, wax, oil seeds, palm oil, cocoa, coffee, copra, maize, and rice. Under scientific management its forests would provide abundant timber. Nature had dowered portions of it with diamonds, gold, mica, bronze, and lead. Herds of large and small animals provided the traders with ivory, skins, wool, and feathers. In 1912 the exports from Germany's four African colonies exceeded 100,000,000 marks, and gave promise of doubling every four or five years.

Germany lavished money and attention upon the development of these colonies. Several years before the war began it was estimated that she had sunk over 10,000,000,000 marks upon her colonial projects. She built railways with great energy. The lines already working and in process of construction totalled 5,000 kilometres in 1914. Road-making was pushed with the same vigour, and the roads, according to Mrs. Mary Gaunt, were well made. Posts, telegraphs, and telephones were built with the same energy. One of the most powerful wireless stations in the world was completed at Lome just before the war began. When private enterprise failed to develop the colonies, the German Government did not hesitate to take a hand to ensure the speedy success of projects of development.

The Germans have a very shrewd idea of the almost limitless possibilities of the ex-German colonies in Africa. The tropical products that they could produce there would keep any industrial nation going. No wonder that the German democrats are clamouring for the return of the colonies quite as much as did the Prussian junkers. No one in the wide world who has any idea of the conduct of

the Germans in Africa, however, has the least sympathy with the cry.

IV

The refusal to reinstate Germany in Africa is, however, mere negative action. What is to become of the Africans who have been liberated from German thralldom? Mr. Lloyd George declared, long before the end of the war was in sight, that the African subjects of Germany were far enough advanced to exercise the right of self-determination. He may quote the statements printed in a White Paper (Cd. 9210) as conclusive proof that the African and other ex-subjects of Germany desire to be incorporated in the British Empire. But he is too shrewd to insult the intelligence of the world by expecting it to take seriously a document prepared in the midst of a world-war by persons who cannot take a neutral attitude.

All opinion worth any consideration is, moreover, united in considering the Africans released from German tyranny as too primitive to appreciate the world-situation as it exists to-day—too primitive to devise the means to protect their heritage from the designs of wily concession-seekers and to escape industrial, if not political, enslavement. The League of Nations Covenant speaks of them as ‘peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world.’ Their wishes are the wishes of persons who have not yet reached their legal majority, and cannot, therefore, be considered competent to will away their rights. If the world to-day possesses a conscience quickened by the terrible conflict that has but recently ceased, it cannot evade the responsibility of treating those simple-minded people of the Dark Continent as its protégés until they are able to protect themselves from greedy exploiters.

Two courses have been urged upon the Peace Conference at Versailles to give effect to its decision to treat the African ex-subjects of Germany as its wards. These methods can be summed up in two words—condominium and mandatory.

Under the first scheme, the administration and the development of the ex-German colonies will be entrusted to international authority. Under the second scheme, each colony would be administered by a single nation holding a mandate from the League of Nations and directly responsible to that League. The first scheme has been abandoned by the Conference in favour of the second. The reasons for such decision have not been explained. It is, however, hinted that joint control has failed wherever it has been tried. The New Hebrides, administered jointly by the British and French, are cited as a glaring instance of such failure.

Persons who talk thus forget that the Peace Conference is attempting to create an international organization whose existence will revolutionize conditions so completely that the failures of the past may be transmuted into successes of the future. Condominium may be a failure, when worked by Powers of equal status, responsible to no one but themselves. But a board of international trustees created by an international authority, and under the direct supervision of that authority, is an instrument that has never been tried, and if selected not with a view to placating Powers, but with the sole object of ensuring efficiency, would have every chance of success.

Such a board would be above suspicion, as no single nation, whether mandatory or not, could ever be. No single nation, whether acting for itself or in behalf of the League, could ever establish an administration that would be able to resist the concession-hunter as a properly selected international board would. Infinite will be the pity if the only solution of the German colonial problem, which would inspire confidence in the East and the West, and which would appeal to the world's imagination, is abandoned in favour of a device that is patently inferior.

The Covenant of the League of Nations is extremely vague about the qualifications of the nations fit to act as its mandatories. It speaks of entrusting ex-German subjects

'to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographic position, can best undertake this responsibility.' What nation is there in the world, Eastern or Western, which can claim to be advanced enough to have successfully resisted the temptation to take advantage of the weakness of its wards? It is to be doubted that, with the possible exception of the United States of America, any nation can present an *entirely* clean record to any impartial tribunal. None may be as black as the German. But none—at any rate in the Old World—is entirely white. Furthermore, which nation of the Old World has been advanced enough to devote itself whole-heartedly to the education of its subject-peoples, so that it may withdraw itself as speedily as possible? If any nation puts forward such a claim, it is bound to expose itself to a comparison of its effort in this respect with the American achievement in the Philippines—a comparison that is not likely to redound to its credit. The Americans began their task in that archipelago but two decades ago, and had more unpromising material to work with than had some of the European nations that were colonial Powers before America herself emerged from the colonial stage; yet to-day, in respect of advancing their charges in literacy and capacity for self-government, the Americans have beaten all the other nations. At any rate, no other nation, whatever its intentions, has given the world anything like the proof of enabling its wards progressively to realize self-government that Americans have given in the Philippines.

How would the doctrine of 'geographical situation,' laid down by the League of Nations Covenant, work out? Let us take South-West Africa as an example, because that country is specifically mentioned in that document in connexion with that doctrine. What has South Africa to offer to the people of South-West Africa?

Only in the last issue of this REVIEW, Rev. W. W. Shilling wrote, in the course of an extremely able and dispassionate

article on 'South African Troubles': 'for years past the native people have been suspicious that the ultimate object of European domination was to deprive them of all their lands and to bring them into a position of absolute subservience.' What a spectacle it will be to the subject-peoples of the world when that same South Africa is made the mandatory for South-West Africa!

Unless the special provision contained in the Covenant of the League of Nations is amended, South Africa will be able to administer South-West Africa under its own (South African) laws. These laws are based upon the tacit assumption that South Africa is a 'white man's country'—and not the land of the black man. Hence their invariable tendency is to subordinate the coloured people to men of European descent. These laws discriminate against Asiatics—be they members of the British Empire or not—and not only against the indigenous African population. How adversely they affect Indians can be seen at one glance from the *Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi*, the Indian patriot, who gave the best part of his life to a struggle in defence of Indian rights in South Africa, which, in spite of his able, unselfish leadership, proved virtually ineffective.

The Covenant of the League of Nations does not specifically mention any part of Africa other than South-West Africa. German East Africa, the Kameroon, and Togoland each abuts upon possessions of one or the other of the Allied Powers—in most cases, of more than one Allied Power. Will the question of a mandatory for these German ex-colonies be settled on the principle of geographic proximity? If that proves to be the case, may the Belgian Congo become the mandatory of East Africa? Since none of the colonies of the Allied Powers, with the exception of South Africa, has reached the status of a self-governing Dominionhood, other arrangements may be made for the selection of the mandatories.

In regard to the administration of German East Africa,

the suggestion was made some time before the Conference met at Versailles that it be converted into an Indian colony. Since that Conference expressed its preference for the mandatory principle, the proposal has been altered to suit the new exigency. Though influentially backed up, the proposal is not without anomalies. India does not possess self-government, and His Majesty's Government shows no disposition whatever to give her full responsible government in the immediate future. To place German East Africa in India's charge would merely mean additional power for the bureaucracy—mainly composed of non-Indians, more posts for the Indian Civil Service—which in agency is essentially non-Indian—while India will have to find the money to develop East Africa. A touch of grim humour is added, when the advocates of the project stipulate that East Africa should be given to India on condition that Indians voluntarily abridge their rights of freedom of movement.

In case the Peace Conference decides upon no better method of administering the ex-German African colonies, the mandatory system must be regulated by a written constitution, which will make the exploitation of the former subjects of Germany impossible, and which will place the education of the Africans on such a footing that their period of pupilage may prove extremely short. Among other stipulations it should provide (1) that all laws and ordinances made applicable to a mandatory territory would be specially designed for that territory, after taking into consideration the special interests and needs of the people resident therein; (2) that these laws should expressly recognize the sovereignty of the people—sovereignty in abeyance while the people are under pupilage, but in no circumstance alienable; and (3) that all administrative appointments and all concessions given to foreigners, whatever their nationality, shall automatically lapse when the tutelage ends. The competence of the mandatory should be judged by its ability to do without forced labour and

condign punishment. The standard by which to measure the success of the experiment should be not the length of railways, roads, and irrigation canals, the number of post and telegraph offices and wireless stations, the volume of exports and imports, the prosperity of agriculture and industries, but the rapidity with which the people have been enabled to 'stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world.'

The more satisfactory the arrangements made for safeguarding the interests of the former subjects of Germany, and the more firm and alert the League of Nations is in seeing to it that the authorities to whom the destinies of those Africans are entrusted discharge their trust honourably and efficiently, the greater will be the pressure exerted upon nations in possession of other parts of Africa. In spite of what the Governors and ex-Governors of these other colonies and their partisans may say, these colonies stand in urgent need of examples in administration that would subordinate all interests other than those of the indigenous people, and that would speed up the process of winding up the trusteeship. Indeed, the danger is that if all the colonial possessions are not placed under the general oversight of the League of Nations, posterity may say that the ex-German and ex-Turkish subjects were accorded by the Peace Conference preferential treatment to the disadvantage of subject-peoples who did not have the misfortune to suffer from German and Turkish tyranny.

ST. NIHAL SINGH.

Notes and Discussions

'CHRISTIANITY IN THE NEW AGE'

Two lady writers have gained an assured place among English theologians. We owe much to the author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, for Miss Dougall has a rare freshness of style and treatment. Mrs. Herman is a critic with an insight into tangled problems which makes her books a real guide to thinkers. *The Meaning and Value of Mysticism* has gained a high reputation as a discriminating study of that fascinating subject. She has now set herself to investigate a larger and more pressing problem. Her new volume, published by Messrs. Cassell (7s. 6d. net), throws light on 'the root-causes of our past failure and present weakness,' and gives 'a vision of the great Source of reinforcement and renewal,' which we had not gained in days of comparative certitude. Mrs. Herman deals first with 'Perils of the Threshold.' The first of these is 'detachment from the past.' War has brought 'the disconcerting discovery of a whole nation estranged from traditional forms of Christianity.' We are 'face to face with a de-Christianized England which none the less retains an instinct for Christianity, but an instinct to which our religious conceptions and the way in which we express them utterly fail to appeal.' We have come to 'realize that the evangelization of a nominally Christian country is perhaps an even longer and harder business than pioneer missionary work in heathen lands.' Mrs. Herman finds a new wistfulness abroad, a new instinct for what is genuinely spiritual among those who are ignorant of the current spiritual vocabulary, and a new appreciation of the humility, the self-giving love, that are the essence of Christianity. The average church member, however, fails to realize that here is the opportunity for a mighty appeal.

As to the alleged revival of interest in the future life she thinks that Sir Oliver Lodge's *Raymond* is not concerned with the subject in 'any deeply spiritual sense. It enshrines no prophetic vision of our eternal destiny; it deals with no spacious and dynamic conception of the divine purpose. Its object is solely to establish the validity of certain messages purporting to come from the dead.' The contrast between such a book and the Apocalypse, where 'the dead speak, not of earth's trivialities, but of the noblest strivings and aspirations of mankind,' is significantly brought out.

Our impatience with the past is disabling. The insight of the present can only 'fructify as it is related to the whole coherent field of thought throughout the ages, and the unhistoric mind is always the limited, the uncatholic mind, no matter though it speak the language of advanced liberalism.' We need also to beware of

pessimism. Our sense of sin has been sharpened, yet we must guard against both religious fanaticism and the feeling that the Church has failed. Those who have turned to Theosophy and New Thought can only be won back by a Church that 'at once regards the world as the theatre of the Spirit's operation, and the site of God's growing Kingdom, and challenges it unflinchingly in the name of that Spirit and in the interests of that Kingdom.'

What, then, is the Church's message for the New Age? 'The supreme need of the ministry to-day is to recover its teaching function.' We want a profounder thought of God which will make Him possess and master us. 'There is only one thing that can save the Church of Christ from its entanglement with anti-social interests—a new thought of God as loving men with a love so individual and compassionate that beside it a mother's love shows rough edges, and so exacting that the meticulous discipline of Christian monk or Hindu ascetic seems poor and trivial beside the strength of its consuming fire, the vigour of its inexorable inquisition.' That thought of God comes to us through Jesus Christ and His Cross. 'It is the Cross that makes the Christian, the Cross that makes the Saint.' The comparison of Calvary with any lesser sacrifice is 'an utter impertinence.' The suffering and heroism of our men at the front have been refined and transformed by Calvary. 'They did so incomparably well just because Christ had done so incomparably better.' The deepest instinct of human nature demands the Cross, and we need St. Paul's courage to hold it up in all its nakedness. Mrs. Herman feels that 'the whole of public worship should be the *sacramentum* of the soldiers of the Cross.' The offence of Christianity centres in the Cross, and to hold it up 'as the redeeming act of God giving Himself in love that risks all' cuts deep into the cherished interests and aims of men. The Cross is the way to the recovery of that note of repentance and penitence which the Church must regain if she is to create moral sentiment and inspire social service. The Cross must break us and make us over again if we are to escape from our self-complacent religious mediocrity.

Mrs. Herman has much to say of the recovery of the sacramental principle which is being sought after by the Free Churches. 'We are coming to recognize that at the centre of our religion is not a Cross only, but an Altar. The Saviour we worship is not merely One who once accomplished a great redeeming act on our behalf, but One who gives us day by day His Body and Blood, broken and poured forth, that we may live.' The centre of our worship can therefore be nothing less 'than united partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, and the offering of our own bodies and souls as a living sacrifice.' 'Until we have the courage to restore the Cross and the Altar to their primary and central place in our life, we shall remain ineffective among men, and most ineffective in prayer.'

All this leads up to the third part of the book—The Great Adventure. It is divided into three sections: The need for an adventurous theology; the call for adventurous discipleship; the call for an

adventurous Church. Jesus was 'the Divine Prodigal of Love, spending His substance "riotously" to His last drop of blood.' An adventurous theology will interpret this love of God in her formulae and give expression to it in her worship and life. Our theology will be adventurous in proportion as it is the outcome of our passion for a gospel which brings a sword before it brings peace, which lays waste the soul's citadel before building it again. Each disciple must have personal experience of the love of God and personal communion with Him. The adventurous soul relinquishes every task which unfits it for 'that sustained gaze into the face of God that is its very life.' When the preacher can speak out of his intimate experience, 'with an individual, dynamic, spiritual accent, there will be no occasion to talk of the failure of the Church.' The background of the New Testament is the Christian community—the body of believers, who can give to God together that which not the greatest of them can give to God by himself.' Our public worship is not the thing of beauty which God intended it to be. 'The Wesleys set the Christian heart of England a-singing, because they had recovered the sense of spiritual wonder for their generation. Their hymns throb with adoring, joyous, passionate worship, because they are the lyric expression of wonder. "Where shall my wondering soul begin?" is the question that pulses through them—a question the average Christian does not dream of asking to-day.' 'The adventurous Church does not scheme or calculate. She has no programme, and engineers no campaign. She lives by her vision of God. Her only policy is to follow her Lord. She sees Jesus walking in the midst of a broken, bleeding world, and she asks the old question, *Quo vadis, Domine?* It is the only burning question in the whole world, and the only question that will not long remain unanswered? What the answer will be we cannot say yet, but we know that it will be eloquent of a Cross. In that sign the Church will conquer as Christ conquered.'

JOHN TELFORD.

AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

IN spite of what some little-minded Americans assert to the contrary, Americans went into the war to lay the foundations for a new order. To them, at least, the war would be lost if the old order of hatred and grab survives this struggle. It may, however, be said that while Americans are keen upon ushering in a new order, they seem anxious to avoid taking any responsibility towards ensuring such an order. The impatient criticism levelled in the United States at the Covenant of the League of Nations is responsible for giving such an impression. But those who know Americans—much less Americans themselves—are not deceived by appearances. People in this country must remember that the party spirit prevails in the United States as it does in other lands.

The present generation of Americans are, moreover, imbued with a passion to keep the New World as free as possible from the taint of European Imperialism, and all the follies and foibles and curses bred by that system. The Monroe Doctrine is the crystallization of that feeling—a symbol of a new life, new ideals, new culture. The United States waited and watched the course of the war year after year, hoping against hope that she would not be drawn into the European welter of blood. When Germany made it impossible for her to remain an onlooker, she took up the weapons of war in the spirit of a crusader, to deliver European peoples from militarist madness. Most Americans looked upon it as an adventure; and felt that after it was over, their country would be able once again to slip back into that state of lofty detachment from which she had emerged for a specific object.

That, of course, was not the view of far-sighted Americans, as will be clear to any one who has pondered the recent utterances of Dr. Wilson,¹ Ex-President Taft,² and other far-sighted Americans. These men fully realized that in undertaking a large, honourable, and determining part in the conflict, the United States was committing herself to responsibilities from which it would be impossible for her to extricate herself. Even Americans opposed to the President's way of thinking, not necessarily for party reasons, had a shrewd idea of whither participation in the European war was leading their country; and that was perhaps the most potent case that influenced them to fight to the last moment to keep the United States neutral. With the defeat of Germany and her satellites, Americans who believed in an untrammelled, isolated America, returned to their charge with increased vigour. After the first armistice was signed, as the days lengthened into weeks and months, their campaign became more intensified, and on his return to the United States with the convention of the League of Nations, Dr. Wilson found himself assailed by these forces, to the chagrin of his supporters in America and to the disappointment of his friends and admirers in the outside world.

It was, however, a correct reading of American character that led Dr. Wilson to go to war: and it is an equally correct reading of American character that has made him commit his country to the League of Nations idea. Whether the United States Congress now in session will or will not endorse the President's policy in this respect is problematical; but it is pretty certain that the American people at large will accept the responsibility to which he has committed them. Americans are an emotional, idealistic, and imaginative people, and this expansion of what they regarded as a noble but limited adventure into permanent participation in the administration

¹ *America and Freedom*, being the Statements of President Wilson on the War, with a Preface by the Rt. Hon. Viscount Grey. (Allen & Unwin.)

² *Win the War for Permanent Peace*. By William Howard Taft. (League to Enforce Peace.)

of the world affairs will captivate them. While they will undoubtedly insist upon a special guarantee for the perpetuation of the Monroe Doctrine, and also for the preservation of American freedom to deal with such questions as immigration, the agitation against participation in world-responsibilities will die out in course of time.

Will America be willing to assume the form of world-responsibility proposed in the Covenant of the League of Nations that was framed by a committee over which Dr. Wilson presided? Even before he had made his informal statement to members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, it had leaked out that the scheme that he is pushing is not the one that the American Delegation had submitted. It would not have mattered much who drafted the constitution. Whatever its authorship, it would have appealed to Americans so long as it breathed the spirit of democracy and internationalism for which America stands first and foremost.¹

While every sovereign nation had a right to be present at the Hague, and enjoyed equality of status, the League of Nations is merely an extension of the existing alliance at the will of the associated Powers and others that they choose to take in with them. Curiously, the authors of the Covenant have sought to perpetuate the mistake which wrecked the usefulness of the Hague Convention—i.e. decision by unanimity. They chose to override the suggestion in this respect made by General Smuts that 'no resolution of the Council will be valid if a minority of three or more members vote against it.'²

In the United States Senate even the smallest and poorest State enjoys the same right of representation as the largest, and richest. The Executive Council will, therefore, have to be *internationalized* so that it is really an epitome of the world if it is to square with American ideals. Only one seat out of nine is earmarked for the United States—all the other American countries are left out to scramble for one or more of the four unassigned seats. Similarly, only one seat is set aside for Asia—and that for Japan, whose ambitions lay her open to Asiatic suspicion. Africa has no place whatever in the Council.

Much of the American opposition to the League of Nations is

¹ Among the schemes that have been published, attention may be called to those contained in *The League of Nations, A Practical Suggestion*, by Lt.-Gen. the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts, P.C. (Hodder & Stoughton); *Draft Scheme for Constituting the League of Nations*, by the Executive Committee of the League to Abolish War; *The League of Nations*, by L. Oppenheim, M.A., LL.D. (Longmans); *The 14th Point*, by C. Ernest Fayle (Murray); *A Society of States*, by W. T. S. Stallybrass, M.A. (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.); *A League of Nations with Large Powers*, by F. N. Keen, LL.B. (Allen & Unwin); *Anticipations of a World Peace*, by H. G. Wells (Chatto & Windus); *A League of Nations*, by Mathias Erzberger (Hodder & Stoughton); *After the War*, by Lord Esher (Murray).

² While it appears to me that the Covenant has embodied many of the principles laid down by General Smuts, nearly all the safeguards proposed by him have been disregarded.

due to the fear that the New World is in a hopeless minority, and that opposition will continue so long as the international character of the Council remains unsatisfactory. Another potent cause of discontent is the utter absence of any provision in the Covenant for democratic control of the Executive Council and the permanent officials.

Although in the preamble of the Covenant 'international co-operation' is given precedence over prevention of war, yet most of the document is taken up with the latter—the negative—phase of the work. No attempt is made to lay down the general principles of such co-operation, or even to indicate the subjects on which co-operation is practicable or advisable. Nothing is said about the manner in which the Bureau of Labour is to be organized, no clear idea is given as to what its powers, privileges, and duties should be. Reference to the domain of economics is almost altogether avoided, though peace on earth and goodwill among men will depend more upon the right sort of economic relations existing between nations than upon any other single factor. Such omissions detract from the value of the document, and reduce it largely to a mere negative effort.

The provision made for the disposal of the German and Turkish possessions is half-hearted. While the territories wrested from the enemy are not to become integral parts of British and French colonial systems, yet some of them at any rate will be administered as if they were integral portions of such systems. While geographic propinquity has been recognized as a qualification for a nation to hold the League's mandate, no test has been prescribed to determine whether such a nation is fit to be made a trustee for an undeveloped people. Moreover, why should the League exclude from its protecting wing all the 'peoples not yet able to stand by themselves' other than those formerly subject to Germany and Turkey?

Though much of the Covenant is occupied with questions pertaining to the prevention of warfare, its authors refused to go to the root of the trouble. They do not propose to end the private manufacture of arms and ammunition. They do not provide an international police force belonging to the League and under its exclusive control. If the covenant is to appeal to the democracy in the United States and in other countries, it will have to be amended drastically. The Executive Council will have to be so constituted that it will be truly international in character, so that it will represent peoples rather than governments, and so that it will be responsible directly to the body of delegates composed of duly elected representatives of all the nations, small and large. The functions entrusted to the League will have to be extended to embrace all forms of international activity, and the League will have to be given power sufficient to cope effectively with international strife. The planetary government—as the French used to call it—or the supernational State—is coming, and if the League is not founded upon a sufficiently broad basis to serve as a nucleus for the world-State, it will have soon to be discarded.

CATHLEYNE SINGH.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by Dr. James Hastings. Vol. X. 'Picts-Sacraments.' 32s. net. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.)

In spite of war-time difficulties the tenth volume of this invaluable work of reference appears in its usual *format*. In its list of 179 contributors there are only two Germans: Dr. König, of Bonn, writes on 'Hebrew Prophecy,' and Professor Julius Jolly, of Würzburg, on 'Hindu Purification.' Scholarly articles, sometimes on recondite subjects, are contributed by thirteen women, amongst them being 'Rationalism,' by Miss Wodehouse, 'Quietism,' by Mrs. E. Herman, 'Rousseau,' by Miss Haldane, whilst Mrs. Rhys Davids and Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson expound respectively Buddhist and Jain themes. With great advantage to the student, multiple articles present many subjects from different points of view, as e.g. 'Prayer,' 'Preaching,' 'Priesthood,' 'Prophecy,' 'Propitiation,' 'Righteousness,' 'Sacraments.' On the 'Power of the Keys' the only article is by Professor Joyce, S.J. In support of his view that the gift of the keys signifies 'ecclesiastical authority in its widest scope,' he says that 'since the sixteenth century Roman Catholic theologians appear to be practically unanimous in their understanding of the passage.' A companion statement of the Protestant exposition of these words would have been welcome. Articles of outstanding merit are 'Religion,' by Stanley A. Cooke, M.A. (31 pages); 'Prayer,' by Dr. D'Arcy; 'Ritschlianism,' by Dr. Garvie; 'Protestantism' and 'Reformation,' by Dr. Gwatkin; 'Pistis Sophia,' by Dr. James Moffatt; 'Sacraments,' by Dr. Stalker. An example of the editor's wisdom in allowing ample space to a specialist is the article on 'Points of the Compass'; a distinguished architect writes fifteen most instructive pages on this subject. Contributors whose names are familiar to readers of this REVIEW are Dr. W. T. Davison, who lucidly expounds the doctrine of 'Providence,' and indicates how difficulties in the way of its acceptance may be reasonably met; E. E. Kellett, M.A., examines and appraises, with critical acumen, theories of 'Rewards' and 'Punishments'; R. M. Pope, M.A., ably summarizes the treatment of 'Pride' in ethical thought; E. S. Waterhouse, M.A., contributes a succinct and instructive sketch of 'Pietism,' referring both to the strength and to the weakness of its general principles. The Editor and his assistants, Dr. J. A. Selbie and Dr. Louis H. Gray, are again to be congratulated on the production of a volume which enhances the value of a work already recognized to be a treasure indeed.

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Modernism: Its Failure and its Fruits. By M. D. Petre.
(Jack. 5s. net.)

Miss Petre dedicates 'this study of a cause which has been declared hopeless, to the memory of one of its leaders, from whom I learned that life may be well spent in sowing what we shall not reap, and that it is enough to see the Promised Land from afar, though it be not given us to enter therein.' Tyrrell's friend and biographer was well fitted for such a task. The book was in type in 1914. Since then the author has been doing hospital work in France and in England. When she took up her proofs she found to her surprise that the subject was 'brimful of immediate actuality; that Modernism was not only a religious movement, important to those interested in religion, but that it was also a movement deeply representative of the conflicting aims of this very world war; that the Modernist leaders were men inspired in religious questions with the same ideals for which we are fighting in national life; that Modernism was, in fact, a spiritual struggle between the principles of "self-determination" and human democracy, and those of unrepresentative authority and unsympathetic rule.' She holds that 'the Modernist was fighting to make the Churches safe for democracy, to bring the mechanism of religious life into accordance with the free spontaneous life of heart and head in the believer.' Modernism attempts 'to make religion paramount and the Church secondary; to restore the Church to her position of guardian, but not mistress, of religious faith and life.' Miss Petre has much to say of unconscious as well as of conscious Modernism, and of the difficulties and problems which it sets itself to meet. She traces the movement both in France and Italy, and gives an illuminating survey of some of its problems. Rome pronounced in 1907 'distinct and emphatic judgement on the work of her own children.' Even the Sillon, which aimed at the union of catholic Christianity with democracy and socialism in France, fell under the Papal ban. The chapter on 'The Failure of Modernism' is pathetic reading. We do not forget that some of the leaders of the movement struck at the vitals of historical Christianity, but it is clear that Rome had no sympathy with any honest criticism nor with the rights of laymen.

A Theological Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England. By E. J. Bicknell, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 21s. net.)

This spacious volume of 577 pages consists chiefly of lectures delivered at Bishop's Hostel, Lincoln. Mr. Bicknell accepts the authenticity of all the Pauline Epistles, including the Pastorals, and has come to believe that St. John's Gospel, on the historical side, gives a more accurate chronological account of certain details of our Lord's life than the Synoptists, and that the discourses 'represent an essential element in His teaching that cannot be minimized or ignored without a serious loss of proportion in our

estimate of His teaching and claims.' The Virgin Birth is shown to be in keeping with the divinity of Christ, and behind the account of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke 'stands the witness of the Apostles and the whole of the early Church.' St. John's silence may be regarded as a token of consent. Mr. Bicknell maintains that to treat the story as symbolic is to misrepresent the place of symbolism. He holds that the Resurrection was not simply the resuscitation of the body laid in the grave. 'A spiritual change had come over it. It was no longer subject to our wants and limitations.' The appearances of the Risen Lord were 'a revelation of another life, a manner of existence of a higher order than our own.' The treatment of the clause 'descended into hell' is very clear and helpful. The general scheme of treatment is based on the Articles, but the Articles themselves are grouped quite freely according to subject matter. It is a book that aims to make the reader think, and it answers that purpose well by its frankness and lucidity. A short introduction on the plan of theology and a careful statement of the history of the Articles prepares for the detailed study of the subject.

A Neglected Sacrament and other Studies and Addresses.
By James Hope Moulton, D.Lit., &c. (Epworth Press.
5s. net.)

In this volume Mr. Fiddian Moulton has collected detached literary material left behind by his brother. The *Studies* include 'Methodism in the Catholic Unity,' 'Christianity and Defensive War,' and 'Treasures of Egypt.' Amongst the *Addresses*, in addition to the sermon on the acted parable of the Feet-washing, which furnishes the book with its title, there are addresses on 'Raising Stones and Cleaving Wood,' 'The Greater Gifts,' 'The Stone of Help,' and 'The Lion Lamb.' Although the editor says that the volume makes no pretence of presenting his brother 'on the scholarly side,' the fine scholarship cannot be hid. It is delightful reading from beginning to end. The style has piquancy as well as charm. The themes are various, but the spirit which breathes in all alike is expressed in the closing words of Dr. Moulton's farewell message when he was leaving the Leys School to go to Didsbury: 'None can tell what the future has for us in store. But for us who go and for you who stay here there is but one secret of life, and that lies in the pierced Hand of Him whose love will guide us till we meet, our labour done, in the radiance of the everlasting morn.'

The Re-Evangelization of England. By Cyril Hephher. (Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

Mr. Hephher is known to us all by his advocacy of *The Fellowship of Silence* which has united even Christians, Mohammedans, and Hindus in silent intercession. He is here concerned with the evangelization which is essential to any true and abiding reconstruction of life. The hour has struck for action. 'The War has ended in a catastrophic

vindication of the gospel of Jesus Christ. More lies broken on the field than Prussian militarism. Thus the world perceives that justice, mercy, truth, and love are the necessary foundations of society.' Mr. Hephner is an enthusiastic believer in Catholicism which understands how to teach men to worship. 'It knows the value of beauty in the presentation to the mind of the sublimity of God.' It is strong in the sense of the underlying spirituality of the visible world, and in the value that it sets upon fellowship as a means of grace it appeals to the deepest instincts of our time. He believes that the Church of England is destined to be the main instrument in bringing in the largest and truest conception of Catholicism. He would like to see the Eucharist take the place of Matins as the chief Sunday service, and holds that an evangelistic Church fails if it does not provide opportunity to penitents for confession. That will show the writer's convictions. He believes in prayer for the dead and in the use of the crucifix, but his book is fused with spiritual feeling and with zeal for the winning of souls.

The Disease and Remedy of Sin. By W. M. Mackay, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Mackay feels that one of the most pressing needs of to-day is to make religion more vital in the common experience of men. It is often regarded as a mere luxury. God is looked on as 'the residue' of life, a residue men are more and more being tempted to grudge. The truth is that religion is the very essence of real life; more necessary than the bread we eat or the air we breathe. Mr. Mackay studied theology and medicine at the same time, and felt that the study of religion might gain both in vitality and efficiency if it were regarded as a remedy to be applied to the conscience rather than as a system of truth to be accepted by the reason. The symptoms of sin, the sources of soul-sickness, the natural history of sin, are discussed in three suggestive chapters. Then diseases of the flesh, the heart, the spirit are laid bare by facts drawn from study and from experience as a minister. The second part of the volume is on the Remedy of Sin. It has much to say about the faith of little children and about conversion and spiritual convalescence; prayer and Holy Communion as medicines of the soul; the healing of the Sanctuary; spiritual surgery, and kindred subjects.

The Faith of the Apostles' Creed: An Essay in Adjustment of Belief and Faith. By J. F. Bethune-Baker, D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

The Lady Margaret Reader in Divinity at Cambridge has endeavoured to make a statement of the meaning of the Apostles' Creed according to its religious construction with a view to help some who are less serenely and securely established to remain loyal to the Christian Faith. He thinks that the modern method of study of the Gospels is not only inevitable but in itself desirable, and that 'many of the results

to which it is leading us, however embarrassing for the moment, will surely throw fresh light for us on the mind of God, on the way in which He was pleased that the crowning revelation of His purpose toward us should be *made*, and then *transmitted* to the generations to come.' According to his view the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection of the Body laid in the tomb should not be treated as of the essence of the faith of the Christian. The faith of a Christian in the Resurrection does not require belief in any particular conception as to its mode, but stands for the conviction that it was 'the whole man, the whole personality, all that had gone to make Him what He was in this life, that survived the Crucifixion, and the Burial, or "rose" or "was raised" again.' It is a very acute and frank discussion, which gives up some points of the Creed which most of us are quite unable to give up, yet holds that 'no doctrine that treats the Cross as merely an incident in an *otherwise divine* career can claim to be anything but a travesty of the Faith that overcame and overcomes the world.'—In *Belief and Creed* (Macmillan. 8s. net) the Bishop of Ely fulfils his promise to challenge the statements made by Canon Glazebrook in *The Faith of a Modern Churchman*. He discusses the Canon's statements as to the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection of the Lord's Body, and the Ascension in a way that will be of great service to thoughtful readers. The argument is clear and cogent; there is no rhetoric, but a sober and weighty discussion of each point which will carry conviction to many minds and prove a real aid to faith. The task has not been a light one, but it was worth doing, and it is done well.

Evolution in Christian Ethics. By Percy Gardner, Litt.D.
(Williams & Norgate. 5s. net.)

This volume shows that the great principles of Christian Ethics need not be given up in consequence of the wider horizons of modern experience, but must be re-stated and modified to suit existing conditions. All that Dr. Gardner attempts is to survey the country and mark out its boundaries. The great convulsion of our times must lead to a regeneration of the nation. The lines of reconstruction are not yet clearly indicated, but renovation can only come from 'a revival of religion, an acceptance of divine idea and impulse working from the heart of the people outwards.' Dr. Gardner inquires 'whether the root-principles of Christianity, love to God and man, the superiority of the spirit to the flesh, a desire to do the will of God in the world, can be applied outside the field of the inner circle of Christians and the life of the cloister.' He thinks that there are elements in chivalry which may be modernized with good effect by an aristocracy of intelligence, of virtue, and of devotion to high purposes. Dr. Gardner examines the Christian law of charity, of forgiveness; its teaching as to the body and the family. He discusses the unrest among women, and the question of Christianity and nationality. Some delicate questions of sex are referred to with

fine feeling and taste, and Germany's sin in throwing away morality in the eagerness for national success is forcibly brought out in the last chapter. The book shows what need the Church has to devote her best thought and endeavour to the task of leavening life and conduct with the highest Christian morality.

Legends of Babylon and Egypt in relation to Hebrew Tradition.

By Leonard W. King, M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A. (H. Milford, 3s. net.)

Prof. King delivered these Schweich Lectures in 1916. His object has been to accommodate familiar facts to the new and supplementary evidence published in America since the outbreak of the war, and the result is of very deep interest. 'Hebrew achievements in the sphere of religion and ethics are only thrown into stronger relief when studied against their contemporary background.' The bulk of the new material is furnished by texts written towards the close of the third millennium B.C., and discovered at Nippur in ancient Babylonia. They represent the early national traditions of the Sumerian peoples, who preceded the Semites as the ruling race in Babylonia. The most remarkable of them gives in poetical narrative an account of the Creation, of Antediluvian history, and of the Deluge. 'In spite of the fact that the text appears to have reached us in a magical setting, and to some extent in epitomized form, this early document enables us to tap the stream of tradition at a point far above any at which approach has hitherto been possible.' Prof. King compares these legends with the Bible narratives. He suggests that the Hebrews must have gained some acquaintance with the legends of Babylon in pre-exilic times, most probably in the days of Ahaz and Manasseh. The myths and legends of Egypt as to the origin of the world and its civilization failed to impress the Hebrew mind as did those of Babylon. There the Jews lived as captives, and Babylonia was not isolated like the Nile Valley but was open on the south and west to the Arabian nomad, who at a far earlier period sealed her Semitic type.

The Schweich Lectures for 1917 deal with *Israel's Settlement in Canaan*. (Milford, 3s. 6d. net.) Prof. Burney thinks that the complete subjugation was not effected by a closely organized body of twelve tribes, but that the early Israelite history has a tribal interpretation which 'without any shuffling or rearrangement to fit in with a pre-conceived theory—offers us a chronological solution of most of the facts derived from extra-Biblical evidence which seem to have a bearing upon the history of Israel's ancestors.' M. Naville has proved that the site of Pithom, which the Israelites built for Pharaoh, was the modern Tell-el-Mashuta, near the ancient frontier of Egypt, and that its founder was Rameses II, the Pharaoh of the Oppression (c. 1225-1215 B.C.). The Hebrew immigration into Canaan under Abraham probably took place about 2100 B.C., and a Jacob tribe

may have given its name to a site Jacob-el in southern or central Canaan by 1479 B.C. The investigation is of great interest, and will be much canvassed by other experts.

The Octavius of Minucius Felix. By J. H. Freese. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. net.) This is a translation of a 'little work of gold,' written probably in the first half of the third century. Octavius answers the charges made against the Christians of atheism and licentiousness. Mr. Freese's Introduction gives much information about Minucius Felix, and his translation and notes are admirable. It is an early apologetic of unusual interest.—*The Sibylline Oracles. Books III-V.* By the Rev. H. N. Bate, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. net.) The Introduction gives many particulars as to the Sibylline traditions in Greece and Rome, and the Jewish-Christian Oracles which were an attempt to utilize the Sibyl. The subject is one of perennial interest. Mr. Bate attempts to supply dates for each section of the Jewish Sibylline Oracles. The belief that Nero was alive and would return is one of the strange things in these books. The translation is provided with full notes, and the scholarly little book will repay careful study.—An important and interesting addition to the S.P.C.K.'s series of 'Liturgical Texts' gives a translation of St. Ambrose, *On the Mysteries* and a treatise *On the Sacraments*, by an unknown author (4s. 6d. net). A valuable Introduction deals with the authorship, texts, and chief features of the two treatises.—*The Great Trial and the Christian Life*, by Alfred D. Kelly, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. net), draws lessons from each phase of our Lord's Trial, and the problems that face the Christian. It is a novel line of study, and it is suggestive.—*Church Reconstruction* (S.P.C.K. 6d. net) is an admirable summary of the reports of the Archbishops' Committees by Canon Masterman.—*Question Time in Hyde Park*, by Clement F. Rogers, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 6d. net), deals with the teaching and Person of Christ. It is a really helpful guide for those who have to defend Christian teaching.—The S.P.C.K. has added to its *Texts for Students, Selections from the Vulgate* (9d. net) and *The Epistle of St. Clement of Rome* (6d. net). The Vulgate Selections range from Genesis to Revelation, including the Apocrypha. Students will greatly appreciate these well-printed handbooks, with good margins and compact and scholarly introductions.—*The Next Step in Religion.* By Roy Wood Sellars, Ph.D. (Macmillan Company. \$1.50.) Dr. Sellars would strip the Church of her 'outgrown pretensions' and make her 'play a lesser rôle in full harmony with the spirit of the age.' He does not see that if Christ loses His divinity the world loses its Saviour and Master. The day of such a book is past. The war has shown that the old gospel is the only hope of the world.—*Father of All.* By Frank Ballard, D.D. (Epworth Press. 1s. 6d. net.) A powerful statement and defence of the Fatherhood of God. Great books have been written on the subject. Here is a masterly epitome of Bible teaching and a pregnant exposition of the significance of the doctrine for our own times.—*The Cultivation of the Spiritual Life.* By J. Ebenezer Howard. (Ep-

worth Press. 1s. net.) A beautiful little guide which dwells much on silence, prayer, and confession to God as means of cultivating all that is most deep and vital in Christian experience. It will greatly help all who have this aim before them.—*Our only Safeguard*. By John A. Hutton, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.) These are sermons that bear thinking about. They have arresting titles, 'Shaking off the beast,' 'Giving the devil his due'—to hear those titles is to make one eager to listen to what the preacher has to say. The sermons are full of vigorous thought and intensely spiritual.—*Repentance unto Life*. By W. M. MacGregor, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.) These are sermons that are simple and direct, not overloaded with illustration, but always practical and stimulating.—*The Increase of God*. By A. H. McNeile, D.D. (Longmans & Co. 3s. 6d. net.) The Regius Professor of Divinity in Dublin University wrote this little book at the suggestion of the Bishop of London for Lenten study in his diocese. 'The life of the soul is an expression of God, and the more I grow the more He is satisfied.' That is the theme of the volume, and it is worked out in a way that leads to heart-searching and prayer.—*Crossing the Threshold*. By J. Williams Butcher. (Epworth Press. 3s. 6d. net.) Twenty-four Latin mottoes furnish texts for spirited talks to young men who are crossing the threshold between boyhood and manhood. They are lit up with many striking illustrations, but everything is made to bear on the formation of strong and wholesome manhood. It is a book that will make men, as Mr. Butcher says of Mr. Paton, the High Master of Manchester Grammar School, to whom he dedicates his volume.—*Father Stanton's Sermon Outlines*. Second Series. Edited by E. F. Russell, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 6s. net.) Father Stanton left notes of about a thousand sermons, and this new series is taken verbatim from his manuscripts. From first to last Mr. Russell has found scarcely any erasures or corrections. They are admirably lucid and freshly expressed; always evangelical, as one would expect from his great saying, 'This is what I should like to be said of me, when I am dead and gone the way of all flesh: "He preached Jesus."' There is beauty as well as force in the Outlines.—*Facts of the Faith*. By Henry Scott Holland, D.D. (Longmans 7s. 6d. net), is the tenth volume of sermons by this great preacher. A competent judge described him as 'Our one theological genius.' He put his best thought into his sermons, and his dominating personality made them wonderfully effective. Mr. Cheshire, the Warden of Liddon House, has much to say of his gifts, and the sermons themselves emphasize his beautiful preface. They have a freshness of treatment and a grace of style; they are richly evangelical and never stray far from the 'present fact that Jesus Christ is alive, and is ours, now, to-day.' It is a noble memorial of a great ministry.—*Hopes for English Religion*. By J. N. Figgis, D.D. (Longmans. 6s. 6d. net.) Freedom, redemption, sacramentalism, humanism are the four hopes for religion on which Dr. Figgis dwells. He feels increasingly how 'rich and strange is the experience that

may be ours, and the sense of praise and worship and of God's presence given to us in our Eucharistic worship.' The second set of sermons on 'Our Catholic Inheritance' discusses 'Our Debt to Rome,' 'Our Difference from Rome,' and 'Distinctive English Catholicism.' It is an outspoken book which will not carry all readers with it, but it is a study which is full of suggestive things forcibly expressed and skilfully reasoned.—*The Problem of the Cross*. By Vernon J. Storr, M.A. (Murray. 5s. net.) The New Testament doctrine of Atonement is carefully stated, and the leading theories criticized. Mr. Storr thinks that the thought that God suffers with His creation, to which we are being driven by many reasons, will best help us to a satisfying doctrine of the Atonement. The Cross stands out from a background made by the double conception of God as Love and as immanent in the universe, ever sympathizing with men, and seeking to draw them into union with Himself. It is a suggestive study of the subject which is the real core of the Gospel, and to which, as Mr. Storr justly holds, increased emphasis will be given in the coming period of theological reconstruction.—*By an Unknown Disciple* (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.) is an attempt to tell the story of Jesus. There are not a few points where we cannot accept his version, but it is always thought-provoking. The disciple is ill for weeks after the Crucifixion, and cannot believe Mary's testimony. She tells him, 'It does not matter whether you believe that I saw Jesus or dreamed. What matters is that we must spread the news of His Kingdom. Cannot a dream alter the face of the world?' That is a conclusion that saps the foundations of faith in the Resurrection.—*Gospel of St. Luke from the Huntingdon Palimpsest*. Deciphered and translated by E. S. Buchanan, M.A., B.Sc. (Roworth. 2s. 6d. net.) This Latin text was found in a Spanish palimpsest brought to New York from Tarra-gona in 1907. The lower wording had been almost entirely obliterated, but Mr. Buchanan was able to read it from the indentations made by the steel pen of the scribe. The main idea of the MS. is that Christ preached the good news of salvation from evil spirits.—*The First Epistle of Peter*, by the Rev. J. M. E. Ross, M.A. (2s. 6d. net), is a welcome addition to the Devotional Commentary issued by the Religious Tract Society. It is based on sound critical study, but it has caught the glow of the old Apostle's letter. It is beautifully written, with crispness and some touches of quiet humour. The suggestions for 'meditation and prayer' at the end of each chapter are very happy.—*Treasures of Hope for the Evening of Life*. By the late Rev. George Congreve, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 6s. net.) The writer was busy with this book almost to the end of his long life. It dwells on hope and fortitude, occupations and interests, and the graces of the Christian life in a very suggestive way.—*Christian Assurance*. By H. L. C. V. De Candole, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 8s. 6d. net.) Forty short readings for the weekdays in Lent, by the new Canon of Westminster. They give an impressive and cumulative view of the grounds on which Christian faith securely rests.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

Democracy at the Crossways: A Study in Politics and History, with special reference to Great Britain. By F. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D. (Macmillan & Co. 15s net.)

Professor Hearnshaw's dominant desire has been to help the practical politician, the man-in-the-street, and, above all, the new electorate. He does not disguise the faults and dangers of democracy; indeed, many will regard him as a somewhat harsh critic, but there is very much to learn from his volume. He holds that democracy is the only form of State ultimately tolerable, and that it must be representative democracy, which is incompatible with 'the initiative, referendum, and recall.' He considers the two-party system essential for the effective organization of representative democracy. The first part of his book is a study of democracy in theory and practice; the second is a criticism of the crossways—sectionalism, socialism, syndicalism, anarchism; the third describes the Straight Way, the National State, the Rule of the Majority, Discipline and Duty, Reform. The goal is indicated in two chapters on The Federated British Commonwealth and The League of Free States. A democratic State may be governed by an aristocracy of some sort or other. Just as it develops specialists on medicine and law, it may produce representative legislators, civil servants, and professional judges. In the democratic state the community as a whole possesses ultimate political power; the democratic society is based on the principle of equality. The chapters on the Crossways will provoke considerable discussion. During the war the Labour Party has immensely widened its horizon; has taken a loftier standpoint; has surveyed, as never before, with comprehensive gaze, the affairs of the nation, the continent, and the world.' It has recognized the grand defect of its former sectionalism, and has striven to enlarge its scope so as to become more truly representative of the nation as a whole.' Prussianism is defeated, but 'the forces of Bolshevism have increased their malignant hold over the minds of the domestic foes of democracy.' These forces must be exorcised if the world is to be made safe for democracy. Democracy also must be cured of many manifest defects if it is to be made safe for the world. To surmount the difficulties will need the clearest vision, the purest conscience, and the firmest will, and to that end every lover of his kind must fit himself to play his part in the democratic progress of his people and to help them to play their part collectively in the democratic progress of the world. 'The issues are tremendous, but the opportunity is great.'

Essays in Romantic Literature. By George Wyndham.
 Edited with an Introduction by Charles Whibley.
 (Macmillan & Co. 12s. net.)

George Wyndham was always a lover of books, and when his friendship with W. E. Henley began in 1892 he found a literary guide who advised him what to read, corrected his taste where it seemed defective, and showed him short cuts to the right understanding of poetry and prose. Henley set him to work on the noble introduction to North's Plutarch, which is one of the finest things in this volume. That essay won its writer a reputation outside politics, and Mr. Whibley says justly that it seems a better piece of work to-day than it did twenty years ago. The essay on 'Ronsard and La Pléiade' takes us back to the days of Mary Stuart. Ronsard was son of the High Steward of Francis I, and came to Edinburgh at the age of twelve with Madeleine of France, who married James of Scotland. Deafness barred his diplomatic career and turned his attention to letters. He and the group of poets who took the name of the Pléiade were held for two centuries to have thrown away the tradition of French poetry, and invented a new language and a new poetry imitated from Greek models. Sainte-Beuve took an opposite view, and Pater held that their work exhibits 'the finest and subtlest phase of the Middle Age itself.' The address delivered as Rector of Edinburgh University is an illuminating account of 'The Springs of Romance in the Literature of Europe.' The essay on 'The Poems of Shakespeare' is wonderfully rich in suggestion for students, and the two smaller pieces on 'Elizabethan Adventure in Elizabethan Literature' and 'Sir Walter Scott' are full of charm. It is a book that appeals strongly to all lovers of literature, and Mr. Whibley's Introduction is a fine tribute to a man who grows upon us as we come into closer contact with him and his literary work.

History of Zionism. By Nahum Sokolow. With eighty-nine portraits and illustrations, selected and arranged by Israel Solomons. Volume I. (Longmans. 21s. net.)

Zionism has become a living question, and this volume is a complete guide to the history and present position of the movement. Mr. Balfour, in his Introduction, is not blind to the objections and difficulties which stand in the way, but he has no doubt that if, as he believes, Zionism can be developed into a working scheme, the benefits would be great and lasting. The late Sir Mark Sykes wrote to the author: 'In Zionism lies your people's opportunity.' England, Mr. Sokolow shows, has been influenced by Israel even more than by Hellas and Latium.' No people has been so devotedly attached to the Bible. It has 'dominated the whole domestic and political life of the English people for some centuries, and has provided the basis of the English conception of personal and political liberty.' Manasseh Ben-Israel, a Jewish preacher from Amsterdam, was the

chief promoter of the re-admission of the Jews to England, and in 1655 he had a conference with Cromwell. Many interesting details are given as to his work, and the Puritan friends of the Jews. Each stage of the Zionist movement in Europe and America is traced, its leaders and friends are sketched, and the principles of Zionism are described. The portraits and groups are of special interest, and the volume will have a warm welcome among all friends of a movement which is full of promise.

Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., F.B.A. A Remembrance.
(Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.)

THIS is a small book, but it gives an adequate and pleasing account of the Regius Professor of Divinity who succeeded Dr. Westcott at Cambridge, and well upheld the influence and usefulness of that great position. He was born in 1835 at Redlands, Bristol, where his father had a school for boys. In 1850 Dr. Swete accepted the living of Blagdon on the Mendips. Henry was well grounded by his father, and after two years at King's College, London, became an undergraduate at Caius College, Cambridge. In 1857 he stood seventh in the Classical Tripos and was elected to a Junior Fellowship at Caius. He became his father's curate, but returned to Cambridge as Dean of his College and afterwards as Tutor. From 1877 to 1890 he was Rector of the College, living at Ashdon in Essex, a model parish clergyman, and from 1882 to 1890 Professor of Pastoral Theology at King's College. During these years he published the first volume of his edition of the Septuagint and prepared the greater part of the second. In 1890 he was elected Regius Professor in his old University, and for a quarter of a century filled that chair with great success. He was indefatigable in his preparation for his lectures. He made his hearers share his own deep interest in his subject, and his direct and practical turn of mind gave freshness and point to all he said. His lecture-room was always filled. The beautiful eventide at Hitchin, with its pastoral visitation, its work in the Men's Bible-class, its sermons and addresses, was a fitting close to a life of never-flagging devotion to the highest and best things.

Life of Viscount Rhondda. By J. Vrynwy Morgan, D.D.
(H. R. Allenson. 10s. 6d. net.)

Lord Rhondda's grandfather, John Thomas, was a contractor and farmer, who married Jane Pritchard, the grandniece of Howell Harris. She was a strong and devout Calvinist, but so irascible and querulous that her visits to her son Samuel were a good deal dreaded. Samuel was brought up as a draper and grocer, but about 1840 became interested in Welsh collieries. He was quick to take offence, and a hard business man and economical to a fault. His wife was anxious for improvements, but he always objected to the cost. Their son David was born on March 26, 1856. He went to Gonville College, Cambridge, where he would have won high distinction as a mathematician but for his delicate health. His father died in 1879,

leaving £75,000 besides a colliery and five-sixths of the Cambrian Collieries. In 1880 David Thomas left Cambridge to join the sale department of the Cambrian Collieries. Two years later he married Miss Sibyl Haig, of Penithon, a cousin of Sir Douglas Haig, and entered a London stockbroker's office. In 1887 he went to live at Llanwern House, near Newport, where he resided until his death in July, 1918. He was masterful yet was chivalrous and courteous; 'imbued with the spirit of honesty and integrity, industry and virility; possessing insight into the character of men and extraordinary will power.' He was tall, slightly grey, with dark blue eyes which had a gleam of cheerfulness in them. Frank, open-minded, and sincere, he was greatly honoured by those who knew him intimately. He did much to develop the rich coalfield of South Wales. He was not happy in Parliament, but found a congenial post as President of the Local Government Board. During the war he put our contracts with the United States and Canada on a sound business basis, and then laid the whole country under immense obligation by the masterly way in which he organized the food supply and worked out the system of rationing. Dr. Morgan has written a volume of great interest, though we wish that he had deleted some chapters and given fuller details of Lord Rhondda's work as Food Controller.

Pillars of Empire: Studies and Impressions. By W. L. and J. E. Courtney. Drawings by Clive Gardiner. (Jarrolds. 15s. net.)

This is a book that appeals to all parts of the Empire. It begins with brief estimates of the foremost British statesmen of the day, and then gives fuller sketches of the chief empire-builders in Canada, South Africa, Australasia, Egypt and the Soudan, India and the Far East. Mr. Courtney could not have finished the book without his wife's assistance, and her name is fittingly linked with his own on the title-page. Twelve portraits add much to the interest of the volume. Mr. Lloyd George 'possesses daemonic energy, and is a mass of activities.' His alertness baffles all prophecy and sometimes realizes a situation before it has occurred. Mr. Courtney is scarcely just to Viscount Grey. 'He had all the virtues. But he never realized that under certain conditions suavity and good manners are not half so effective as a gust of bad temper.' The empire-builders are well chosen and vividly sketched. Lord Dorchester's work in Canada and Lord Durham's are set out in a few really illuminating pages, and every one will be interested in the accounts given of Sir John Macdonald, Lord Strathcona, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and Sir Robert Borden. Mr. Courtney is frank both in criticism and appreciation. He does ample justice to General Botha and General Smuts, and shows how Lord Selborne's conciliatory spirit helped to knit them to the Empire. In Lord Kitchener's death the nation felt that it had 'lost a tower of strength and foreign nations felt it too.' One wants to keep this book near at hand for constant reference.

Charles Booth. A Memoir. (Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

All who grapple with problems of poverty owe a lasting debt to Charles Booth. A strenuous business career in Liverpool overtaxed his strength, so that he had to live in Switzerland in 1874. During this enforced rest he became anxious to know the real facts about how the poor lived and what could be done to improve their position. He made a laborious examination of the census to obtain information as to the trades in which people were engaged, and then fixed on the East End of London as a suitable ground for a closer survey. He obtained permission to interview the 250 visitors of the Board Schools, and set his helpers and himself to tabulate the information thus acquired. The results were published in 1889 in the first of those volumes which poured a flood of light on life in the East End. The success emboldened him to attempt his survey of life and labour in all parts of London. He was fortunate in his colleagues, and detailed accounts are here given of the way in which he lodged in the homes of the workers that he might really understand their daily life. In 1891 he began to take an active part in the agitation which led to old-age pensions, and lived to rejoice in the success of the scheme. Letters are given which throw a pleasing light on his interests and pursuits; and special sections deal with old-age pensions, industrial policy, business, and the great inquiry into the 'life and labour' of the people.

The Wonderful Village: A further record of some famous folk and places by Chelsea Reach. Collected by Reginald Blunt. (Mills & Boon. 8s. 6d. net.)

Chelsea owes much to Mr. Blunt, and his latest book will spread the fame of the place more widely still. He begins with 'The Ladies' of the Manor House,' which Henry VIII built as a royal residence. Catherine Parr lived here with her 'daring and unprincipled husband,' Lord Admiral Seymour, and her young ward, the Princess Elizabeth, whom it was found prudent to remove to Cheshunt to end the 'sort of semi-barbarous feudal flirtation' with the admiral. Lady Jane Grey came to the Manor House at the age of nine, her father having sold her wardship to Seymour. At the age of eleven she was chief mourner at Queen Catherine's funeral. Many other celebrities lived at the Manor, and of each of them Mr. Blunt gives some graphic sketch. The sorrows of Cruden, the concordance-maker, who was confined in an asylum at Chelsea, make a pathetic story. Then we come to the 'Ranelagh Nights,' which for over fifty years attracted the gay pleasure makers of the time. 'Controversy College' is scarcely remembered to-day, but Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, hoped to make it a centre of Bible study. James I heartily approved the scheme, but it was an unhappy venture. Chelsea Hospital succeeded to its site. 'Etruscans in Chelsea' tells how the famous Wedgwood dinner-service was made for the Czarina Catherine at Chelsea, and gives a most interesting account

of William De Morgan, and his tile-works, with which Mr. Blunt was associated. It is a pleasure to turn over the pages of such a record and to look at its twenty-four illustrations. Mr. Blunt is giving all his profits to the assistance of the blinded soldiers at St. Dunstan's.

Literary Recollections. By Sir Edward Cook. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

These jottings in a library have both variety and charm. 'The Art of Biography' discusses the merits and demerits of books known to most readers. Sir Edward regards it as one of the ironies of the art of biography that the lives which from some points of view are best worth writing are those which nobody will read. The demand is for lives of those who have made an open mark in the world. We have read the study with zest from first to last. On 'Ruskin's style' Sir Edward is uniquely qualified to write, and he gives us a delightful paper. 'A Literary Magazine' pays merited tribute to *Cornhill*, with its famous editors and contributors. 'Words and the War' is singularly timely and informing, and every lover of poetry will relish 'A Study in Superlatives.' 'A Painter's Poetry' describes the verses found in Turner's note-books, original or copied from books and broadsheets. The 'Second Thoughts of Poets' brings together various versions which Tennyson, Meredith, and other masters made of passages in their own poems. It is not the least instructive study in a volume which will give unmixed pleasure to every lover of the best books.

The Greek Orthodox Church. By Constantine Callinicos, B.D. (Longmans & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

The writer, who is pro-presbyter of the Greek Church in Manchester, gives a lucid sketch of the history, organization, beliefs, and customs of the Greek Orthodox Church. It includes the patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, the independent Churches of Greece and Cyprus, the independent monastery of Mount Sinai, and the Greek Diaspora in Europe and America. The membership is about twelve millions. Baptism, it is held, sets those who receive it free from original sin, and Confirmation, which follows immediately, seals and confirms the new life. The Eucharist is 'a true and real communion and participation' of the Lord's 'flesh and blood, by which we are given strength to live His life.' There is no better guide to the beliefs and the history of the Greek Orthodox Church than this compact and interesting little book.

The Congress of Vienna. 1814-1815. By C. K. Webster, M.A. (Milford. 4s. 6d. net.)

This monograph was written at the request of the Librarian of the Foreign Office, and is intended for the information of officials and men of action. No standard history of the Congress of Vienna has

been prepared, though Sir Adolphus Ward and Professor Alison Phillips have dealt with some aspects of the subject in the *Cambridge Modern History*. The Congress met in the autumn of 1814, but it was the result of diplomatic transactions of the earlier part of that year at Paris and elsewhere, and its work was completed by the second peace of Paris, after the final defeat of Napoleon. The monograph is divided into four sections—the preparation, organization, work, and completion of the Congress. Castlereagh's character and achievements were long obscured by party prejudice, but it is now established that for courage and common sense he has rarely been equalled among British diplomatists. His influence in the settlement of 1814-5 was greater than that of any other European statesman. He had not Canning's sympathy with liberal and national ideals, but he was clear-sighted and courageous and fertile in expedients. His governing motive was to preserve the balance of power. The Congress discouraged the idea of self-government. Democracy meant nothing to most of its members save anarchy and revolution. They were not equal to their opportunity. 'They were limited in outlook, too prone to compromise, lacking in faith and courage.' They secured Europe a breathing-space, but were content with expedients and made no attempts to do more than the obvious.

Highways and Byways in Northamptonshire and Rutland. By Herbert A. Evans. With Illustrations by Frederick L. Griggs. (Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.) These counties have little romantic scenery to attract the tourist, but they have their own quiet charm of hill and vale, and thriving towns and villages, with noble mansions like Burghley House, the Cathedral at Peterborough, and churches like that which is the glory of Raunds. There is Fotheringay with its tragedy of Mary, Queen of Scots, Naseby, and Uppingham with its memories of Edward Thring. King's Cliffe was the birthplace of William Law, and there he spent the last twenty years of his saintly life. Mr. Griggs has put a wealth of delicate workmanship into his picture gallery.—*A Short Life of Abraham Lincoln.* By the Hon. Ralph Shirley. (Rider & Sons. 3s. 6d. net.) This is a short life, but it covers the ground with care and skill. It describes Lincoln's early struggles, his growing reputation as a public speaker, and his double term of office as President. His determined attitude as to secession and slavery probably saved the Union, and his assassination crowned his achievement with the halo of martyrdom. All sides of his character and work are ably described in this brief biography.—*A Short History of S.P.C.K.* (1s. and 2s. net) has been prepared by the Rev. Lowther Clarke, the Editorial Secretary. It describes the past and the present, showing what notable service the Society has rendered both at home and on the mission field. It supports St. Katharine's Training College for Schoolmistresses at Tottenham; the Lay Workers' Training College at Stepney; it makes grants of books and tracts to chaplains and others, it cares for emigrants, it aids colonial and missionary work, and carries on the manifold activities of a great publishing house. Such a survey

ought to win many more friends for a Society that is doing noble service to the Church of England.—*The Second Century*, by J. P. Whitney, B.D. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. net), is a set of short readings intended to bring home the life of a memorable century. Its worship, its sorrows, its problems and conflicts are described by a skilled historian. We are brought into touch with champions like Tertullian and Justin Martyr, and get clear accounts of the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. It is an intensely interesting survey of a critical period of Church history.—*How the Gospel spread through Europe*. By Charles H. Robinson, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 5s. net.) This volume is intended for the use of Study Circles, and may be supplemented by Dr. Robinson's larger work on *The Conversion of Europe*. The Introduction gives a general view of the early missionaries and their labour; then the evangelization of each country is described in separate chapters. The facts are put in a way to arrest attention and suggest further study; there are six good maps, a valuable general survey with table of dates and a full index. It is a book that will be of great service to students.—*The Logic of History*. By C. G. Crump (S.P.C.K. 8d. net.) This manual describes the presentation of historical material, ultimate principles, and presentation of results and gives a brief bibliography. It will be a valuable guide to young historians.—*Red Indians I Have Known*. By J. B. McCullagh (Church Missionary Society, 6d. net). The writer has been working among the Red Indians at Aiyansh, British Columbia, since 1883, and gives a graphic account of chiefs, hunters, witch doctors, and others.—*The Historic Episcopate*. (Epworth Press. 6d. net.) Many will welcome this neat reprint of Dr. Davison's article. It is the best discussion of the question on which reunion really hinges that we know. There is a fine candour about it which will make a deep impression.—*A Puritan Idyll*, by F. J. Powick, M.A., Ph.D. (Longmans. 1s. net), is 'Richard Baxter's Love Story,' given first as a lecture at the John Rylands Library. It was worth telling, and it could not have been done with more discernment and sympathy. Every lady will delight in it.—*In and About Palestine with Notebook and Camera*, by Alfred Forder (R.T.S. 3s. 6d. net), is one of the best books on Palestine that we have seen. The writer has lived in Jerusalem, and travelled in all parts of the Holy Land. He writes vividly, tells us what we want to know, and his camera adds to the general effect of a capital book.—*Church and State in England*. By Alfred Fawkes, M.A. (Murray. 1s. net.) This is a powerful criticism of the Archbishops' Committee on Church and State. 'Under the pretence of "Life and Liberty" the government and administration of the Church would be vested in sectional bodies, worked by sectionalists for sectional ends.' Bishop Henson, in his preface, endorses Mr. Fawkes's position, and expresses his opinion that Parliament would consent to pass a measure of practical reform, removing the abuses which hamper the Church's efficiency. Deeper defects must be cured by the growth of a worthier spirit within the Church.

BOOKS ON THE WAR

Germany in Defeat—Fourth Phase. By Count Charles de Souza. (Kegan Paul. 7s. 6d.)

Germany in Defeat will take a conspicuous place among the works indispensable to the serious student of the Great War. Count de Souza's contention that the final issue of the war was really decided at the Marne has since the great *débâcle* received the *imprimatur* of no less a personage than the German Crown Prince, who has had at any rate exceptional opportunities for becoming acquainted with the opinions and feelings which prevailed in the highest military circles of the Central Powers. The serious military student will greatly appreciate Count de Souza's illuminating exposition of the strategic features of the operations undertaken in the Serbian, Italian, and Rumanian campaigns. It may be that some will differ from our author in his interpretation of the strategic significance of the battle of Jutland; but his presentation of the case is thoughtful and suggestive. Not the least valuable contribution to our knowledge of the real meaning of warlike operations is the stress laid upon the relation and relative value of material and moral factors in war, the profound significance of the latter being well brought out. This is one of those books the second reading of which will be found to be at once more interesting and more profitable than the first.

America's Day: Studies in Light and Shade. By Ignatius Phayre. (Constable & Co. 12s. 6d. net.)

This is a view of the American scene which it would be hard to find anywhere else. The writer's aim has been 'to lift the note of the United States above the clamour of a world-war, its man-killing, restoration, and re-arrangement.' He describes the way that America was gradually drawn into the war, from which at first 'her millions stood far off in dim espial, deafened with partisan cries at home, where German bombs went off, and the German Embassy was organized as a focus of conspiracy and crime.' America shed her youthfulness, and nationhood was born. The old policy of 'Keep out' and 'Keep off' was put an end to by the war. Mr. Phayre throws lurid light on the unpreparedness of the American army and navy. German-Americans used every art to help the Central Powers, and Bernstorff, as director of an internal war, went his way with wonderful unconcern. Mr. Phayre describes industrial America around Pittsburgh: 'There are no words for the vileness and flame of this hissing Gomorrah.' Then we see New York from the forty-seven-storey Singer Building, which towers six hundred feet above Broadway. New York sets the pace for the continent. In 1916-17 there

was a 'moneyed invasion.' 'Nothing like it was ever known, even in a land of freak spending and mushroom millions.' War-money was spent with reckless profusion. Before the war Germany was esteemed by America, and England was disliked. It was thought that Germany would win the war and vindicate its claim to supermanhood. But step by step America swung into line with the British view, and the new Anglo-American understanding was established. This sparkling book will do its share in promoting the same object, and help the two nations to labour together in laying 'new foundations of human freedom.'

Harold Tennyson, R.N.: The Story of a Young Sailor put together by a Friend. (Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

Few young heroes have left such material for a real insight into their lives and characters as the grandson of the late Poet Laureate. He was, when not twenty, killed by a mine, which the *Viking* struck in the English Channel, but he had already shown such capacity that it was felt that he would have risen to the highest ranks of his profession. He made friends everywhere; he had a fine influence on all who worked with him; he was keenly interested in natural scenery, and had taste and skill as a musician. As a small boy in Australia he was popular everywhere, and his quaint and precocious sayings add spice to the early pages of this record. Wherever he went as a midshipman he kept his eyes open, and was learning every day of his life. It is an altogether delightful record of a high-minded and devout young Englishman who gloried in his grandfather's poetry, but loved *In Memoriam* best of all. His love of parents and home, his pride in his country, are beautiful features in a very fine character.

Another Sheaf. By John Galsworthy. (Heinemann. 6s. net.)

These war studies are rich in insight and sympathy. The first two pages, headed 'The Road,' show the weary host disbanded and yearning for home—for wives, mothers, children, the patient hoppers against hope. Then we turn to 'The Sacred Work' that awaits the Angel of Peace. 'In every township and village of our countries men stricken by the war will dwell for the next half-century. The figure of youth must go one-footed, one-armed, blind of an eye, lesioned, and stunned, in the home where it once danced.' So comes the sacred work. The disabled man must be regarded as if he were ourselves; as one who demands and must have a full place in the ranks of working life. 'The Soldier-Workman' must find his employer standing side by side with him in true comradeship. Many men will come back better set up and hardier; others will be obviously or secretly weakened. The study will appeal to a very wide circle. France, Russia, and America each has a place in the volume. Not once during his hospital work in France did Mr.

Galsworthy hear an unfriendly word. Every one was considerate. American and Briton are divided in heart by manner rather than matter, yet on their nerve, loyalty, and wisdom, the transformation of society depends. If either nation fails itself or fails the other, 'there can but be for us both, and for all other peoples, a hideous slip, a swift and fearful fall into an abyss, whence all shall be to begin over again. We shall not fail—neither ourselves, nor each other. Our comradeship will endure.'

Nelson's History of the War. By John Buchan. Vol. XXI. (2s. 6d. net.)

This volume begins with the disaster at Caporetto, when Italy's Second Army gave way before the Austrians. 'It was such a crisis as the war had scarcely shown—a calamity sudden, unlooked-for, and overwhelming.' Cadorna's communiqué spoke bluntly of 'naked treason,' but this was softened to 'insufficient resistance.' The disaster was not without compensations, and Italy made a wonderful retreat and a gallant stand at the Piave. The situation on the Tigris is described, with the death of Sir Stanley Maude from cholera, 'the result of a draught of native milk which his courtesy forbade him to refuse.' The battle of Cambrai was a brilliant feat of arms, but it effected nothing. General Smuts put his whole soul into the conquest of East Africa and inspired his whole command with his magnetic spirit. Russia's extremity is the subject of the last chapter.

The War and Elizabeth, by Mrs. Humphry Ward (Collins, 6s. net), was finished last April, when the Allies had their backs to the wall, and Sir Douglas Haig gave orders that 'every position must be held to the last man.' Elizabeth comes as Squire Mannering's secretary to help him with his Greek and his vases, but she has a rare gift as a manager, and nurses his half-wrecked estate to prosperity. How she turns the self-willed squire into a patriot and wins the hearts of his children is told in an arresting way. Desmond, the youngest boy, is mortally wounded at the front, and brought home to die. That is the tragedy of the story, and it is almost heart-breaking. It is a powerful and enthralling book.

La Societa delle Nazioni (November).—This is the first number of a monthly review intended to describe and cultivate good feeling in the League of Nations. It is published in Milan, and seeks to present its readers with a careful chronicle of all that concerns the League of Nations, an accurate account of new books on the subject, and everything in Italy and the outer world that bears on its special subject.

GENERAL

Psychological Principles. By James Ward. (Cambridge University Press. 21s. net.)

THE Professor of Mental Philosophy at Cambridge laid down the plan of this book forty years ago when he began to lecture at his University; some of the abstracts of his lectures were published, and in 1884 he was induced to write the article 'Psychology,' for the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In 1902 a supplementary article was prepared, and the two articles with omissions and additions were amalgamated for the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia*. The article of 1884-5 was published separately. It won such a reputation as the most able introduction to the subject that its re-publication has been loudly called for. Professor Ward has reluctantly yielded to the demand. He has expanded the first three-quarters of the article, bringing it down to the end of chapter xi. The portion of the article dealing with experience at the self-conscious and social level had been severely compressed, and this third of the book (chapters xii-xviii) is, with the exception of a few pages, entirely new. The concluding sections of the article on the Relation of Body and Mind, and on Comparative Psychology, which first appeared in the supplement, are now omitted. Prof. Ward holds out the hope that he may be able to deal with those topics by and by. The standpoint of psychology, in Dr. Ward's view, is individualistic. It is some one's experience. 'In this sense, i.e. as presented to an individual, "the whole choir of heaven and furniture of earth" may belong to psychology, but otherwise they are beyond its scope.' The James-Lange theory, 'that we feel sorry because we cry, angry because we strike, afraid because we tremble, and not we cry, strike, or tremble because we are sorry, angry, or fearful as the case may be,' is dismissed as 'psychologically and biologically absurd.' 'From first to last it is but one of many instances of physiology misapplied.' Prof. James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* leads to a fine passage on conversion. If in some cases this has only 'a temperamental origin,' he says, 'sometimes, at any rate, it is genuine; and in the case of those whom James calls "religious geniuses," is so impressive as to compel universal reverence.' These men 'were superior to the weakness of the flesh, the fear of men, and the temporal anxieties that hold so many in bondage.' For them 'the divided self' 'ceased to be, and the inner peace and unity they professed to have found, appeared in its stead. With a single eye and a single aim their whole being seemed full of light and joy. At one in mind and will with the ground of all reality and the source of all good, as they conceived it, what had they to fear, whoever might be against them? They stood fast, strenuously devoted through

life and faithful in death to the widest, deepest, and highest that they knew, or indeed—when all is said and done—that it has entered into the heart of man to conceive.' The volume will long hold the field as the most compact and complete manual on Psychology.

Cambridge Readings in Literature. Books I, II, III, IV, V.—
 Edited by George Sampson. (Cambridge University Press. 3s. 6d. to 6s. net.)

These reading-books are intended for pupils of eleven and upwards, but they will be as welcome to adults who love the best things in literature from Homer down to John Masefield. A few facts are given as to the authors, and the selections are not severely curtailed where they come from large works. Each volume has twenty or more illustrations from great painters of various nations. It is a catholic selection which does not forget the old favourites, but includes also prose and verse by the modern masters, and not a few legacies from poets who have fallen in the war—C. H. Sorley, Julian Grenfell, Leslie Coulson, Eric Wilkinson, and Francis Ledwidge. Prose and verse are both well represented. The selections from the Bible and Apocrypha are very well chosen. America is represented by Whitman, Washington Irving, and a few others. Mrs. Howe's 'Battle Hymn of the Republic' has rightly won its place in the selection. The volumes are printed in clear type, and can be had in three styles of binding. We hope that every school in the country, both public and private, will put them on its shelves.

For Second Reading: Attempts to Please. By Stephen Gwynn. (Maunsel & Co. 4s. net.)

These reprinted essays group themselves well under the borrowed Parliamentary title, and not a few of them will win a third reading as well. Mr. Gwynn's farming in Ireland suggests a charming 'Farewell to the Land,' which he had learned to love. 'Irish Book Lovers' is a little set of vivid portraits; 'Clarence Mangan,' the Irish poet, has an essay to himself. 'A Sunday in Donegal' is an Irish service which one links with the thrilling soldiers' 'Mass on the Hillside.' There are the German studies; a visit to a Moorish seaport; Continental rambles; little papers on Reading Aloud; Quotability; the Modern Parent, and a Procession of the Plums which recalls the lovely scene of the Cotswolds in Mrs. Deamer's Life. The war scenes have their own thrill: the brave colonel of the Irish Brigade and the not less heroic cottager who had lost her husband and came to embody for Mr. Gwynn the soul of France. It is a succession of scenes that print themselves in the memory and leave us eager for another volume.

There is a bewildering wealth in the volumes that have reached us from the Abingdon Press, New York. Professor Knudson, of the Boston University School of Theology, has a fine study of *The*

Religious Teaching of the Old Testament (\$2.50 net). It discusses the nature of God and of man, the problems of Nationalism and the Future Life in a way that will greatly assist the careful study of the New Testament. *The Dynamite of God* is a volume of Bishop Quayle's sermons, full of charm and insight; *Jesus—Our Standard*, by H. H. Horne, presents our Lord as our human standard; Prof. Hough has a timely subject, *The Clean Sword*, and treats it with originality and force. His little book on *The Significance of the Protestant Reformation* shows how 'Luther fearlessly applied living principles forged in the heat of his experience to the life of his time.'—*The Mayflower Pilgrims*, by E. J. Carpenter (\$1.50), is beautifully illustrated by scenes on both sides of the Atlantic. It is the most picturesque book we have seen on the Pilgrim Fathers.—*The Confessions of a Browning Lover*, by J. W. Powell, is a fine interpretation of the poet's message.—*Giant Hours with Poet Preachers*, by W. J. Stidger, has studies of four American and five English poets—John Oxenham, Alfred Noyes, John Masefield, Robert Service, Rupert Brooke. Portraits and studies are both very attractive.—Missions are represented by *The Christian Crusade for World Democracy*, which is a soul-stirring survey of the field from South America to China, Japan, and the Philippines, and round to Europe.—*Thoburn Called of God* is Bishop Oldham's story of a great missionary bishop—the Asbury of American Methodism in South India; *India Beloved of Heaven* is a vivid panorama of scenes from the daily life of the East.—*The Old Home*, by C. C. Woods (\$2 net), begins with a wedding and ends with a golden wedding. It is an idyl of home life with most attractive pictures.—*The Rural Church Serving the Community* gives wise counsel as to the way in which it may be made a centre for spiritualizing the life of the community as a whole.—*Comfort and Strength from the Shepherd Psalm* lights it up aptly from the war and from history, and shows how it knits the Old and the New Testament together.—*A Salute to the Valiant* is Dr. Kelley's beautiful tribute to a girl sufferer who brought sunshine into the lives of all who knew her.—The Kingdom of God Series, with its volumes on *The Religion of Israel*, and *The Teachings of Jesus* and the *Manual* based on each volume, will be of great service to leaders of Bible classes. There is a little volume on *Religion and the School*; a strong arraignment of German philosophy and the War.—An inspiring address by W. O. Thompson on *The Church after the War*, and a pamphlet on *American Tithers*, which gives many facts about American philanthropists and their modes of giving.—*On the Manuscripts of God*. By Ellen B. Sherman. (Abingdon Press. \$1 net.) These studies range among trees and rivers, the wizardry of the soil, the world of scents and sounds, with much happy quotation and many glimpses into the marvels of nature. Booker Washington said that the best way to keep the negro clean and honest was to keep him close to the soil. That is a strength the world is only beginning to measure, and this fresh and lively book will open the eyes of many a dweller in towns to the beauty that awaits them in the fields and by the sea-

shore.—*The Science of Mental Healing*. By E. L. Eaton. (25 cents net.) A racy and pungent critique. Its idea is put in a sentence: 'God often used means, and sometimes prescribed medicines, to teach that we are to co-operate with Him in the use of both physical and spiritual agencies.'

Mesopotamian Verses. By E. J. Thompson, M.C., C.F. (Epworth Press.) Two years of war have here found their poet. Mr. Thompson left India to serve as chaplain with the forces in Mesopotamia, and the perils and privations, the good fellowship and never-failing courage of that anxious campaign are all mirrored in his verse. We share the friendly mess; we lose our sleep amid the plague of insects; we watch the Tigris passing through the groves of date, and see the dusk stirred by the white-sailed boat till it

'Fades down the night; and all
Is as the years had fled, and left no trace
Since days of thine, Harun-al-Rased.'

It is a vivid record which sets the whole scene before us. Mr. Thompson's mastery of his art was never more evident than in this small but rich volume, which is dedicated in a graceful poem to his friend the Poet Laureate.—*Who's Who* for 1919 (A. & C. Black. 30s. net) has more than 2,757 double-column pages. It is the most complete representation of the varied life of our country, and no one who has become familiar with it feels that he could afford to let it get out of sight. The biographies have been carefully revised down to July 31, and are packed with facts about every one whose name is familiar to us in politics, war, science, literature, art, and religion. It is a public service to provide such a volume year by year.—*The Writers' and Artists' Year Book* (Black. 3s. 6d. net) is indispensable. It is constantly in our hands, and we could not get on without it. Lists of journals published in Australia, New Zealand, and India have been added, and the pages on royalties, copyright, &c., give the essential facts in the most compact and reliable way.—*Doctor Ogilvie's Guest*. By Florence Bone. (Religious Tract Society. 8s. 6d. net.) The love stories of a Yorkshire dale are here strung together with skill and sympathy. The London specialist sends his son to Yoredale to the care of his old friend, Dr. Ogilvie. Every one's life seems to have a romance in it, and Raymond Brooke weaves a charming one for himself. The writer knows Yorkshire well, and its strong characters appeal to her as much as its moors and its wind-swept hills. It is altogether a charming book.—*A Millionaire's Daughter*. By L. M. Herbert. (Epworth Press. 6s. net.) Mr. Merton gets his heart's desire in the marriage of his beautiful daughter, but she has many a bitter cup to drink before she wins the heart of her husband's father and his aristocratic kinsfolk. The story is full of interest from first to last.—*The Secret City*. By Hugh Walpole. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.) The Russians have a proverb: 'There's a secret city in every man's heart. It is at that city's altars that the true prayers are offered.' That

proverb has supplied both the *motif* and the title of this dramatic story. It is laid in Petrograd, and has much to say about the Neva and the Nevski Prospect, the churches and the people, but its interest centres in the Markovitch flat where the two sisters, Vera and Nina, are both in love with Jerry Lawrence, the Englishman. The evil genius of the family is the Uncle Semyonov, a Russian sensualist, who had met a woman whom he really loved, only to see her killed in the war. The story is tragic, but it throws a flood of light on the Revolution and the Russian character, and shows what a ferment is at work in the secret city of every Russian heart.—*Pharaoh's Jewels*. By F. Buttz Clark. (Epworth Press. 1s. 6d. net.) Three stories of unusual grace and interest. The first is laid in Petra in Roman times, the second in Rome, the third in Britain. It is a charming little book.—*Poems*. By Archibald Strong. (Melbourne: Ingram & Son.) Some of these poems were written before the war, and have their own note of joy; others were born in days of pain, and have the natural tinge of sadness, but all have their own grace and beauty. Praise of Shakespeare, Swinburne, and Meredith shows how we share our classics with our scattered children, and 'Love in a Library' is a heartfelt tribute to the romance of books. It is a little collection full of thought and melody.—*The Church Directory and Almanack, 1919* (Nisbet & Co. 6s. net.), is arranged in three parts—Calendar and general information; Directory of archbishops, bishops and clergy, alphabetical list of benefices. It is as complete, exact, and up-to-date as possible, and no Churchman ought to be without it. Nonconformists also will find it of great service and interest.—*Missionary Pie* (9d. net) is full of stories and puzzles about Japan, India, and Africa with puzzles and other delights for children.—*Prem's Partners* (4d. net) teaches the joy of helping missions. It has also some pictures to colour. The Church Missionary Society knows how to win the hearts of small boys and girls.—*Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages*. By Alice Werner. (Kegan Paul & Co. 7s. 6d. net.) Miss Werner is reader in Swahili and other languages at the School of Oriental Studies, and has worked at the Bantu languages in Africa. Her book is a grammar with reading-lessons, notes, and translations, and will be of the greatest service to students. She has been pursuing these studies for thirty years and has gathered material from the standard works on the subject as well as from her own experience. It is a valuable and much-needed piece of work.—We have received from New Zealand (Wellington. Marks) the census returns taken in October, 1916, Part III, birthplaces and length of residence. It is full of interesting particulars.—*The Victorious Child*. By Kingscote Greenland. (Morgan & Scott. 2s. net.) Bethlehem brought into the world 'the Child Conqueror.' We follow Him in this booklet to camp and city, &c., watching His victory. It is a beautiful idea, and it is worked out with rare skill and tenderness.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Quarterly Review (January).—No one should miss Mr. Murray's sketch of his father, 'John Murray III,' who entered the business in 1828, at the age of nineteen, and retired in 1891. After leaving Charterhouse he studied at the University of Edinburgh, and was present at the dinner of the Theatrical Fund where Sir Walter Scott first publicly owned that he was the sole author of the Waverley Novels. Mr. Murray founded the famous Handbooks, and his son has the original MSS. in his father's writing. His business relations, his friendships, his home-life at Wimbledon are all told in this beautiful filial tribute. Mr. Crozier's 'Theory and Practice of Marshal Foch' brings out his reliance on moral force, his belief in the supreme, unexpected blow, and his doctrine of *stretê* which enables the blow to be struck without hindrance. Prof. Headlam's 'Eastern Christendom: Reform and Reunion' describes the conditions of the Eastern Church and urges the necessity of exhibiting the Christian duty of brotherly love; we should blazon before the world our union as followers of Jesus Christ rather than exaggerate our minor differences.

Edinburgh Review (January).—In 'Transport Reconstruction' Mr. Mackworth holds that there is no justification for expenditure on canals except for minor and inexpensive improvements; nor for any general policy of light railway construction. He urges that we shall do well to pay serious attention to the development of motor transport. Mr. Hannay writes on 'Ships and Empire.' Supremacy at sea is vital for the British Empire. The seaways are the connecting veins and nerves which hold together our widely separated masses of territory over the surface of the globe. The Socialist control of cargo contracts would be a fruitful cause of international disputes.

Church Quarterly Review (January).—'Towards Reunion: A Nonconformist View,' by Dr. Adeney, shows the concessions that are being made on the episcopal side. Lightfoot's view as to the Episcopate is being admitted with increasing readiness, and Mr. C. H. Turner's essay on 'Apostolical Succession' has removed some difficulties. Nonconformists no longer maintain that New Testament precedents must be followed in all respects, and yet something like a new episcopacy is making its appearance among Baptists and Congregationalists. Prof. Headlam's important article on 'The Worship of the Church' is based on the report of the Archbishops' Committee on 'The Teaching Office of the Church.'

Calcutta Review (October).—The first article discusses the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, which 'gives no encouragement whatever to proposals for rash and hasty advance.' Dr. Macphail writes on the Santals, who suffer heavily from the money-lender. (January).—Mr. Gilchrist writes on 'Indian Nationality,' giving special attention to race and to language, which he thinks will not only help to make a united India, but a united India in a United British Empire. English has already 'a greater mileage and larger rolling-stock than any Indian vernacular.'

Hibbert Journal (January).—The Editor opens with an article on 'International Control of War Finance,' in which he dwells instructively upon the economic work of the League of Nations, as it ought to be carried out if it is to make the world safe for the industrial revival. Some of his projects sound utopian, but apparently the choice is between Utopia and Chaos. The Bishop of Carlisle draws some parallels between a League of Nations and a Reunion of Churches. If all bishops and Church leaders were of Dr. Diggle's spirit and temper, the chief difficulties in the way of reunion would be removed. Two articles are placed side by side which set the reader thinking. One, by Canon J. M. Wilson, is entitled, 'Wanted: Another Archbishops' Committee on the Teaching Office of the Church,' the object of which seems to be to 'depersonalize' the conception of God and to substitute the idea of a Vital Power or Life Force manifested in all creation and supremely in man. The other, by Rev. J. M. Thompson, M.A., seeks to 'disentangle what is fact and what is faith' in the Modernist doctrine of the Incarnation, which dispenses entirely with miracle in the birth, life, and work of Jesus of Nazareth. The plain man who reads the article will not find much left of the doctrine of Incarnation as it has usually been understood. After reading these two articles, we ask with the title of the next, 'Again, What is Christianity?' Those who desire an answer to the question will find one furnished in this number by Prof. J. B. Pratt. Sir O. Lodge's speculations on 'Ether, Matter, and the Soul,' tend to show that 'soul is related to the ether as body is related to matter.' Mr. C. G. Montefiore, under the title, 'An Ancient Arraignment of Providence,' describes the questionings of 2 Esdras on the subject of Providence, and considers that the answers given in this book, 'rise perhaps above anything in antiquity.' Dr. D. Macmillan gives voice to widely felt disappointment with the progress of Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland, and makes out a strong case against the 'Draft Articles' on their present lines.

Journal of Theological Studies (January).—The most interesting article is by Canon Glazebrook on 'Hebrew Conceptions of Atonement and their Influence upon Early Doctrine.' The sketch is most suggestive and might with advantage be expanded into a treatise. The Dean of Wells writes on a recent archaeological discovery, 'A Fragment of the Life of St. Cungar,' a sixth-century

saint of Somerset. Half of the present number (fifty pages) is occupied by an instalment of 'The Commentary of Pelagius on "Romans" compared with that of Origen-Rufinus.' Dr. W. E. Barnes' Notes on Psalm xlv. are ingenious rather than convincing. It might disconcert some preachers to be told that the 'river, the streams whereof make glad the city of God' is the Euphrates!

Holborn Review (January).—In 'The Training of the Ministry' Mr. Atkinson Lee pleads for large modifications in the curricula of theological colleges, but—unlike some other critics—he recognizes that it is impossible to condense seven years' work into three. Mr. Garrett Horder, in 'Poetry for the Young,' holds that the ideal collection of verse for the young remains to be made. The inevitable article on 'A League of Nations,' by W. A. Dickins, is more practical and thorough than such articles are wont to be. Dr. Warschauer, in reviewing *Joan and Peter*, declares it to be 'a book which only Mr. Wells could have written.' Two excellent articles are, 'The Labour Party's Social Programme,' by D. H. Rees, and 'The Religion of John Ruskin,' by F. R. Brunskill. The editor picks the plums out of 'A Writer's Recollections' in his article on 'Mrs. Humphry Ward on Herself and Others.' The Symposium on the Holy Communion, which has been carried through several numbers, is continued, and the reviews of books and current events are good as usual.

The Expository Times (January and February).—The Editor's Notes continue to give character to each number of this popular periodical. In addition Dr. Hastings gives us in the January number an article by Principal Forsyth, on 'The Foolishness of Preaching,' in which the writer magnifies the office of the Christian prophet; an instructive paper on 'Assyro-Babylonian Astrologers,' by Dr. T. G. Pinches; and a continuation of Principal Garvie's "'Christ Crucified" for the Thought and Life of To-day.' The chief papers in the February number are 'An Abridged Old Testament for Popular Use,' by Rev. D. Reid, 'The Reconstruction of Religion,' by Dr. Stanley A. Cook, and 'Faith and Facts,' by Edw. Grubb, M.A.

The Round Table (March).—The article on 'Bolshevik Aims and Ideals' is of special importance. Lenin is its real head. Apart from his very considerable mental powers, he has undoubted courage and almost fanatical confidence in his own judgement. Bolshevism is a tyranny based on force and violence, and is a very real menace to the peace of Europe.

AMERICAN

Harvard Theological Review.—The January number opens with an informing estimate of 'The Effect of the War on Protestant Missions,' by Dr. James L. Barton, Foreign Secretary of the American Board, whose seven years' experience as a missionary in Turkey enables him to speak with authority on the effect of the war on the Moham-medan world. 'There has never been a time since Christianity came into open conflict with Islam when conditions seemed so favour-

able for a wise, judicious, united approach to the Mohammedan world with the message of Christianity.' Dr. McGiffert writes with sympathy and sound judgement on 'Christianity and Democracy.' Dr. Peabody finds a congenial subject in 'The Peace-Makers,' making happy use of Meyer's correction of the Lutheran version: 'Blessed are the peaceable (*friedfertigen*),' or those who are inclined to peace; 'as though the blessing of Jesus might be claimed for pious declarations rather than reserved for creative actions.'

The American Journal of Theology (January).—Contains five main articles. Dr. Garvie, of New College, London, writes on 'The Present Problem of the Supply and the Training of the Christian Ministry in England.' He sees the needs of the present and immediate future if the varied services now demanded of the ministry are to be adequately fulfilled, and makes some useful suggestions. But Dr. Garvie cannot, any more than other experts, explain how a dozen horses are to be lodged in three or four stalls. The paper on 'The War and the Dilemma of the Christian Ethic,' by J. M. Mecklin, deals with a difficulty which all Christian Churches have felt. The explanation here furnished, that 'the world's Great Pacifist' expected an immediate cataclysmic close of the present world-order, and an era of perpetual peace, and that his ethic is mainly 'interim,' is not very helpful. Prof. Louis Jordan contributes an article on 'The Study of the History of Religions in the Italian Universities,' and Dr. C. C. Torrey replies to some hostile criticisms of his investigations into the Acts of the Apostles in 'Fact and Fancy in Theories concerning Acts.' An interesting discussion of the order of worship in Congregational churches is furnished by Chas. E. Park, under the title, 'Possibilities of Beauty in the Congregational Order.'

Princeton Theological Review (January).—This number opens with a paper on 'The Present Crisis in Ethics,' in which the writer, Prof. W. B. Greene, attaches more importance to Nietzsche and Naturalism than they deserve, and he takes Mr. Bernard Shaw more seriously than that eminent philosopher could expect. 'Christian Education and Presbyterian Tradition,' by Geo. Johnson, discusses some present educational problems in the light of past history. Dr. B. B. Warfield continues his papers on the 'Higher Life' movement, and detects and denounces what he calls 'Perfectionism' in all its moods and tenses. An article on 'Prayer,' by Prof. Ritchie Smith, is thoughtful if not markedly original. 'Princeton Seminary's First Foreign Missionary,' by H. W. Hulbert, a grandson of Henry Woodward, pioneer missionary in South India, and 'Heroes,' by Chas. Wadsworth, jr., help to make a number of great interest.

Bibliotheca Sacra (January).—Principal Warfield describes 'The Fellowship Movement' in Germany, and looks with hope to the Gnadau Conference for a return to the 'Reformation doctrine of salvation, a full and complete salvation, through faith alone.' Dr. Griffith Thomas has a powerful indictment of 'German Moral Abnormality' as seen in the atrocities of the war.

